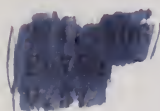




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ESSEX INSTITUTE

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PROBABLE SITE OF THE EXECUTION OF THE "WITCHES"

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HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS

OF THE

ESSEX INSTITUTE

VOL. LVII

JANUARY, 1921

No. 1

WHERE THE SALEM "WITCHES" WERE HANGED.

BY SIDNEY PERLEY.

THERE appeared in one of the Salem papers, about 1845 (reference to which the writer has mislaid), a communication, in which the correspondent stated that her (or his) grandmother told her that the grandmother's grandmother told her that she stood in her doorway and saw the "witches" hanging after their execution. The correspondent stated, as the writer remembers it, that her grandmother lived on Boston street, not far from the "big tree", but she did not state where her grandmother's grandmother lived in 1692. The reader would infer that the grandmother's grandmother lived in 1692 where the grandmother lived nearly a century later. What appeared at first glance to be a clue to the place where the unfortunate victims lost their lives in 1692, upon examination of land records it failed utterly. It was not stated in the communication that the grandmother's grandmother lived on Boston street; and the land records show that all the land in that section, which was early called Trask's plain, was common and undivided land until 1718, when it was divided and sold and houses were first built upon it. So no one lived in that particular section in 1692, because there was no house there. If the correspondent had stated who her grandmother's grandmother was, the place of her residence might have been learned.

In 1867, appeared the work, in two volumes, on the Salem witchcraft delusion, by Rev. Charles Wentworth Upham, pastor of the North Church, in Salem. Beginning with page 376, of the second volume, in reference to the place of the executions, he said:—

"The place selected for the executions is worthy of notice. It was at a considerable distance from the jail, and could be reached only by a circuitous and difficult route. It is a fatiguing enterprise to get at it now, although many passages that approach it from some directions have since been opened. But it was a point where the spectacle would be witnessed by the surrounding country far and near, being on the brow of the highest eminence in the vicinity of the town. As it was believed by the people generally that they were engaged in a great battle with Satan, one of whose titles was 'the prince of the power of the air', perhaps they chose that spot to execute his confederates, because, in going to that high point, they were flaunting him in his face, celebrating their triumph over him in his own realm. There is no contemporaneous nor immediately subsequent record that the executions took place on the spot assigned by tradition; but that tradition has been uniform and continuous, and appears to be verified by a singular item of evidence that has recently come to light. A letter written by the late venerable Dr. Holyoke to a friend at a distance, dated Salem, Nov. 25, 1791, has found its way back to the possession of one of his granddaughters, which contains the following passage: 'In the last month, there died a man in this town, by the name of John Symonds, aged a hundred years lacking about six months, having been born in the famous '92. He has told me that his nurse had often told him, that, while she was attending his mother at the time she lay in with him, she saw, from the chamber windows, those unhappy people hanging on Gallows' Hill, who were executed for witches by the delusion of the times.' John Symonds lived and died near the southern end of Beverly Bridge, on the south side of what is now Bridge street. He was buried from his house, and Dr. Bentley made the funeral prayer, in which he is said to

have used this language: 'O God! the man who with his own hands felled the trees, and hewed the timbers, and erected the house in which we are now assembled, was the ancestor of him whose remains we are about to inter.' It is inferrible that Symonds was born in the house from which he was buried. Gallows Hill, now 'Witch Hill,' is in full view from that spot, and would be from the chamber windows of a house there, at any time, even in the season when intervening trees were in their fullest foliage, while no other spot in that direction would be discernible. From the only other locality of persons of the name of Symonds, at that time, in North Fields near the North Bridge, Witch Hill is also visible, and the only point in that direction that then would have been.

" 'Witch Hill' is a part of an elevated ledge of rock on the western side of the city of Salem, broken at intervals. . . . North of the turnpike, it rises abruptly to a considerable elevation, called 'Norman's Rocks.' At a distance of between three and four hundred feet, it sinks again, making a wide and deep gully; and then, about a third of a mile from the turnpike, it re-appears, in a precipitous and, at its extremity, inaccessible cliff, of the height of fifty or sixty feet. Its southern and western aspect, . . . sombre and desolate appearance admits of little variety of delineation. It is mostly a bare and naked ledge. At the top of this cliff, on the southern brow of the eminence, the executions are supposed to have taken place. The outline rises a little towards the north, but soon begins to fall off to the general level of the country. From that direction only can the spot be easily reached. It is hard to climb the western side, impossible to clamber up the southern face. Settlement creeps down from the north, and has partially ascended the eastern acclivity, but can never reach the brink. Scattered patches of soil are too thin to tempt cultivation, and the rock is too craggy and steep to allow occupation. An active and flourishing manufacturing industry crowds up to its base; but a considerable surface at the top will forever remain an open space. It is, as it were, a platform raised high in air.

4 WHERE THE SALEM "WITCHES" WERE HANGED

"A magnificent panorama of ocean, island, headland, bay, river, town, field and forest spreads out and around to view. On a clear summer day the picture can scarcely be surpassed. Facing the sun and the sea, and the evidences of the love and bounty of Providence shining over the landscape, the last look at earth must have suggested to the sufferers a wide contrast between the mercy of the Creator and the wrath of his creatures. They beheld the face of the blessed God shining upon them in his works, and they passed with renewed and assured faith into his more immediate presence. The elevated rock, uplifted by the divine hand, will stand while the world stands, in bold relief, and can never be obscured by the encroachments of society or the structures of art,—a fitting memorial of their constancy.

"When, in some coming day, a sense of justice, appreciation of moral firmness, sympathy for suffering innocence, the diffusion of refined sensibility, a discriminating discernment of what is really worthy of commemoration among men, a rectified taste, a generous public spirit, and gratitude for the light that surrounds and protects us against error, folly and fanaticism, shall demand the rearing of a suitable monument to the memory of those who in 1692 preferred death to a falsehood, the pedestal for the lofty column will be found ready, reared by the Creator on a foundation that can never be shaken while the globe endures, or worn away by the elements, man, or time—the brow of Witch Hill. On no other spot could such a tribute be more worthily bestowed, or more conspicuously displayed."

Mr. Upham assumes that the highest point of Gallows hill was the site of the execution of the persons convicted of practising witchcraft, and then shows how the spot has always been difficult to reach,—even today with the several streets which have since been opened, it is, as he says, "a fatiguing enterprise to get at it." He apparently did not realize that Gallows Hill pasture was then and for a century thenceforth continued to be a part of nearly three thousand acres of wild public land, the northern point of which was at the junction of the present Boston

and Putnam streets. The territory was so rough and ledgy that it was not thought of as of any use for nearly half a century after 1692, when it came to be used as a common pasture. There is no mention of any one being given the right to go into or upon it to remove trees or for any purpose, and it is inconceivable that, in 1692, there would be a path to the summit of the hill in which a cart containing eight of the victims could be driven thereto.

Mr. Upham says: "It is hard to climb the western side, impossible to clamber up the southern face. Settlement creeps down from the north, and has partially ascended the eastern acclivity, but can never reach the brink. Scattered patches of soil are too thin to tempt cultivation, and the rock is too craggy and steep to allow occupation. An active and flourishing manufacturing industry crowds up to its base; but a considerable surface at the top will for ever remain an open space. It is, as it were, a platform raised high in air."

A later writer on the subject of Salem witchcraft, Winfield Scott Nevins, refers to a certain statement made by Robert Calef, a merchant of Boston, who came to Salem to observe the "goings on", and in a book, published in London in 1700, states many things that he saw and learned. This statement has reference to the conveyance in a cart to the place of execution of eight of the victims, and is as follows: "The cart, going to the hill with these eight to execution, was for some time at a set; the afflicted and others said that the devil hindered it, etc." Mr. Nevins says that this statement by Mr. Calef is evidence that the cart was proceeding to the top of the hill when it became "set" (immovable), and because of the extraordinary steepness of the hill it could not be taken farther. It seems that this statement cannot be thus interpreted, in the first place, because, if the reason of the cart being "set" was occasioned by apparent natural physical conditions, "the afflicted and others" would not have presumed "that the devil hindered it," supposing it must have been "set" by some unaccountable supernatural means. Then again, as Calef says, it was "set"

as it was "going to the hill," that is, before it had reached it.

Mr. Upham suggests that the people reasoned that as the devil was "the prince of the power of the air," this high place was deliberately selected as a stage where the executions could "be witnessed by the surrounding country far and near," and "in going to that high point, they were flaunting him [the devil] in his face, celebrating their triumph over him in his own realm." The writer doubts that the reverend author would have applied the same suggestion to the selection of Calvary as the place of the crucifixion, but certainly the Saviour's enemies were more deluded than the leaders in the witchcraft proceedings in Salem in 1692 in thinking that they were doing God service. In each case it was the devil who was the winner, —in the first instance in removing from power the hand and voice of the greatest influence for good in the world, and promoting hate, unbelief and dissension; and in the latter case taking away the lives of innocent persons in a grewsome and awful manner, and vaunting the influence and power of personified evil in causing the clergy and the church to forget their labor of love and peace and faith, and instead to join hands with their eternal enemy in sowing unrestrained discord, brutality, malignity, hate, fear and terror. Rather, it was the devil's exhibition of his four monthly field days for the specially advertised season of 1692.

But, who had the selection of the place of execution of the witches? The judicial and executive branches of the law were distinct then as now; and the executive arm of the law in this case was the sheriff, George Corwin, twenty-six years old. The writer does not think that it is likely that, at his age, he considered that the higher in the air he hung these human beings the more he was "flaunting" the devil "in his face," because he believed that Satan was "the prince of the power of the air." Neither does the writer believe that he even considered Calvary, although there are in some respects resemblances between the two cases. The crucifiers of the Lord led him to a spot without the gate of the Holy

City, and on Calvary executed their will upon him. The church, through the act of excommunication, placed some of its brothers and sisters beyond its pale, which had been to them, as they believed, the very gate of heaven, and sheriff Corwin led the condemned outside the town and destroyed their Godgiven lives. North river, as it passed under what is now Boston street, in "Blubber hollow," was the limit of "the town", as understood and recognized by the inhabitants at that time.

Neither does the writer believe that the sheriff relished the job. He was of tender years and belonged to a refined family ;—but he was the executioner and he had the task to perform, and it must be assumed that he attended to it as quickly and simply as he possibly could,—by taking the condemned to the nearest spot of common land beyond the town proper and executing them. Boston street was the only way open to his cart, and he turned in at the first place he came to, and did his disagreeable and awful duty.

Of the spot whereon Mr. Upham states the executions occurred, he says : "It is mostly a bare and naked ledge. . . The elevated rock, uplifted by the divine hand, will stand while the world stands, in bold relief, and can never be obscured by the encroachments of society or the structures of art,—a fitting memorial of their constancy."

If it be true, that the executions took place upon this barren ledge, gallows for eight must have been prepared there, as eight victims were hanging at one time. It has always cost considerable money for labor and lumber to construct gallows, and it is inconceivable that the authorities would have incurred the trouble and expense of constructing gallows for eight when the victims could have been fed to the brutal rope one at a time, and the exhibition much more prolonged in this way. The records of the town and county have been searched in vain for any reference to expense or order to procure lumber or workmen for such a purpose. The executions must have been upon the limbs of trees, which needed neither carpenter nor lumber to prepare them for this cruel purpose ; and trees of suitable size do not grow on bare ledges.

Mr. Upham says: "There is no contemporaneous nor immediately subsequent record that the executions took place on the spot assigned by tradition; but that tradition has been uniform and continuous." He does not tell, however, what the tradition is.

He next refers to a letter written by Doctor Holyoke, in 1791, in which is mentioned the death of John Symonds, who was nearly a hundred years old, and who had just died in a house at the Salem end of Beverly bridge. Doctor Holyoke stated that John Symonds said that his mother's nurse at the time of his birth had told him that from the chamber windows of the house in which he was born, at the time of his birth,¹ she saw the witches as they were hanging. But this statement does not disclose the site of the house wherein he was born. Certainly it was not the house where he died, because that house was not built until 1730.

Mr. Upham adds a statement contained in the prayer of Doctor Bentley, which he uttered at the funeral of this John Symonds, which is so singular and meaningless and inappropriate that it is hardly to be credited,—that the man who built the house where the funeral was held was an ancestor of the deceased. From this statement of Doctor Bentley, Mr. Upham says, "It is inferrible that Symonds was born in the house from which he was buried." It is difficult to understand how such a statement is evidence that John Symonds was born in that house. His ancestor may have built a dozen houses, all of them after the year 1692, this one included. However, the statement is of no consequence, as the top of Gallows hill was never visible from the house where John Symonds died.

The Symonds house in Salem in 1692 in which the father of John Symonds lived was the ancestral home on North street, on the site which the Upham schoolhouse now occupies. But neither was the top of Gallows hill visible from this house.

¹John Symonds was born May 22, and only Bridget Bishop was executed June 10; and it must have been poor lone Bridget that the nurse saw hanging there.



THE CREVICE

In none of his investigations has the writer discovered any tradition or record or other evidence which indicates that the alleged witches were executed on top of Gallows hill; and it is unreasonable in every aspect of consideration that they were.

THE EVIDENCE.

In the course of his examination of land titles of Salem for the location of early grants and houses and roads, the writer reached "Blubber hollow". He found that the road, now Boston street, crossed North river by a bridge called Town bridge, which was built in 1640. Five years later, this bridge was rebuilt, and the road raised several feet, a causeway being made by an extensive filling. North river extended along Norman's rocks nearly to Highland avenue. Pope's court now crosses the location of the river. For many years this was a pond for a tide mill. Nearly a hundred years ago this section of the river, between Boston street and Norman's rocks, was filled. In 1692, the river was there in its full width (except at Boston street where it was partially obstructed by the causeway and bridge). The original road leading out of the "Town of Salem" ran up Broad street into the pasture, and at a point now included in the Bertram athletic field it branched, one branch of the road proceeding southward towards Lynn and Marblehead, and the other turned toward the west, passed just south of the High school building, crossed Highland avenue, passed just southerly of Norman's rocks, under what is now Looney's morocco shop, turned to the right through the gorge between the ledges, where the southerly end of Pope's court is now located, to the North river. It then passed westerly over the narrow space between the river and the hill until it came out where Putnam street now connects with Boston street.

The examination showed that all the territory southerly of North river and Boston street and for a long distance up North river beyond Boston street was, in 1692, common public land, because of its unevenness and craggy and ledgy condition. The old road skirted it from Norman's rocks to Boston street and beyond westerly.

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July 24, 1735, Samuel Pope, a blacksmith, sold his house and lot on Hardy street, and in 1737 was in possession of a house and nearly two acres of land, formerly a part of the common land, over which Proctor street now runs, as shown on the plan (*post*), on which the Solomon Stevens house on Pope court and the ancient David Nichols house (now Gagnon house) on Proctor street now stand. Apparently, Samuel Pope purchased the land of the commoners at the time, and built a house thereon, having his blacksmith shop near the junction of the ancient road and Boston street. For one hundred and thirty pounds in province bills he and his wife Sarah conveyed the property to Moses Steward of Salem, bricklayer, Dec. 15, 1737.¹ The land is described as bounded by "the great pasture, so called." It would thus appear that the part of the pasture which included the highest hill was not then called Gallows Hill pasture. It was called the Horse pasture in 1753,² 1775³ and 1785.⁴ The first time it was mentioned as Gallows Hill pasture was in 1789.⁵

Moses Steward conveyed the estate to Thorndike Proctor about 1745, and the latter owned the house and land in 1753.² Mr. Proctor was grandson of John Proctor who was executed for witchcraft in 1692. Mr. Proctor did not live in this house, which he apparently let.

The commoners proposed in 1747-8 that locust trees be set out on the common highlands, and offered to pay two shillings and sixpence for each tree thus set out. Mr. Proctor heeded the suggestion and set out some locust trees on his land that had belonged to Moses Steward. Mr. Proctor died in the summer of 1774; and one of the lots of land assigned to his widow Abigail Proctor, Sept. 18, 1775 (confirmed by the court April 1, 1776), was "a peice of land, about one acre, which was purchafed of mofes steward, on which the Locuft trees now stand, bounded as follows, from the well by the wall adjoining

¹Essex Registry of Deeds, book 74, leaf 85.

²Salem Town Records, Jan. 1, 1753, Meeting of the Selectmen.

³Probate Records, Estate of Thorndike Proctor, docket number 22,895.

⁴Essex Registry of Deeds, book 143, leaf 208.

⁵Essex Registry of Deeds, book 151, leaf 244.

the horse pasture (so call^d) runing about south east to a stake & stones, from thence about thirty feet North east to the fence running round the hill, the old wall being the bounds, she allowing the liberty of the road for passing and repassing." This mention of the locust trees as a distinguishing mark used to identify the lot shows that they were not similar to trees of that kind that were common, but trees that were for some reason different in themselves or in their use and generally known. Else, they would not have assisted in the identity of the premises.

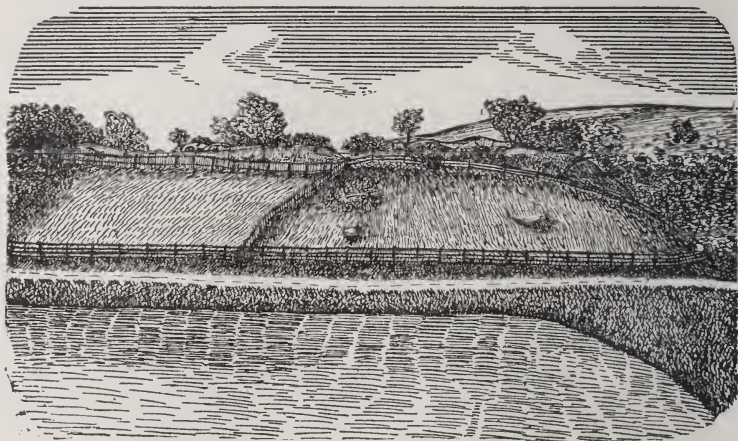
John Adams, afterwards president of the United States, in 1766, had a sister-in-law living in the Ruck house, on Mill street, in Salem, and in passing from court to court and from county to county, in his law practice, he occasionally stopped at the house of his brother-in-law Cranch. Under date of Thursday, Aug. 14, 1766, he wrote in his diary as follows: "Dined at Cranch's; after dinner walked to Witchcraft hill, a hill about half a mile from Cranch's, where the famous persons formerly executed for witches were buried. Somebody within a few years has planted a number of locust trees over the graves, as a memorial of that memorable victory over the 'prince of the power of the air'. This hill is in a large common belonging to the proprietors of Salem, etc. From it you have a fair view of the town, of the river, the north and south fields, of Marblehead, of Judge Lynde's pleasure-house, etc., of Salem Village, etc."

Mr. Adams may have walked to the highest part of the hill, though his description would probably have been as applicable to the lower hill where the locust trees were growing. Some things that he omits to mention, as the harbor, indicate that he ascended the lower hill only.

The following sketch was made by the writer in 1901, from a photograph of the hill taken from a chamber window of house numbered fifty-one on Boston street, which looks southerly, and which is also the view from either of the three most ancient Symonds houses in Salem. In the picture the buildings which appeared in the photograph were eliminated, and the river and ancient road have

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been added, together with a fence along the bottom of the hill and by the side of the road. The trees and shrubs are as they were in 1901. Where the old road and the fence by its side are shown, was built a railroad some fifty years ago; and the digging and blasting thus occasioned greatly changed the appearance of the side of the hill to the northeast.



SITE OF THE LOCUST TREES AND CREVICE

This sketch presents the location of the lot where "the locust trees stand" in 1775, which was then assigned to Abigail, widow of Thorndike Proctor, as a part of her dower. It lay between the road and the fence along the top of the hill and the whole length of the picture.

In 1901, Andrew Nichols, then upwards of sixty years of age, and now an octogenarian, said to the writer that his father, Dr. Andrew Nichols, the first president of the Essex County Natural History Society, who was born in 1785, who was an investigator and greatly interested in the history of the locality, lived at Central Square in what is now Peabody. Mr. Nichols says that when he was a small boy he often rode with his father on his professional visits, and once when he was about twelve years of age (in 1849), when they were driving to Salem, Doc-

tor Nichols stopped in Federal street and looked back to the large trees on this lot of land, and said to him, "That is where the witches were hung." Doctor Nichols was born, reared and always lived among people who would be likely to know where the executions occurred, and he was a man who was positive before he made such important statements to his boy.

The writer then went to the place where he was told the trees had stood more than fifty years before to see if there were any stumps or other remains of any large trees at that spot. He met the owner of the land, the late Solomon Stevens, then ninety years or more of age, who lived on the lot, just beyond the left hand end of the picture. Through the infirmities and weaknesses of years, he was unable to talk intelligently, but his son and daughter said that there had been two large trees standing there, until about 1860, when the son felled them, and dug out the stumps, as the trees were in their garden. He pointed out the place where each had stood,—on the near side of the fence running along the brow of the ridge or hill at the left of the picture,—one where a little dot appears, and the other in the shrubbery about thirty or forty feet to the left of the first, at the very edge of the picture. The last-named tree (the one farthest to the left) stood in a crevice between the ledges. When the stumps were removed Mr. Stevens stated that he and his father pulled down into their garden all the soil that was in the crevice, leaving it as it is to-day. The fence passes over the crevice. Mr. Stevens produced from within his woodshed several short sections of the trunks of the trees, which had been there all those years, and gave the writer a small piece of one of them. The great fire came in 1914, having originated in front of Mr. Stevens' residence, and swept away the house, shed, fences and the remaining sections of the old trees.

The writer has found neither evidence nor tradition that locust trees ever grew upon the top of Gallows hill; nor that a crevice ever existed there where the bodies of Burroughs, Willard and Carrier could have been even partially buried. The late Abner C. Goodell of Salem,

ex-president of the New England Historic-Genealogical Society, and a student of the Salem witchcraft delusion, in a public meeting, a few years before his decease, stated that, occasionally for twenty years after Mr. Upham's work appeared, he had searched on top and on the sides of the hill for such a crevice or hole between rocks,—but in vain.

The finding of this crevice, combined with the statement of John Adams that the locust trees were set out to mark the graves of the witches, brought to mind the statement of Robert Calef, the Boston merchant, who has already been mentioned, regarding the disposition of the bodies of Burroughs, Willard and Carrier. Calef wrote as follows: "When he [George Burroughs] was cut down, he was dragged by the halter to a hole, or grave, between the rocks, about two feet deep, his shirt and breeches being pulled off, and an old pair of trousers of one executed put on his lower parts; he was so put in, together with Willard and Carrier, that one of his hands and his chin, and a foot of one of them, were left uncovered."¹

It is a tradition in the Buffum family that from the house of Joshua Buffum were seen the hand and foot mentioned by Calef, and after dark on the evening of the day of the execution of these men Mr. Buffum went to the crevice and covered the exposed parts. Mr. Buffum then lived on the northerly side of Boston street, just easterly of Fowler street. He is also credited with having assisted relatives of the victims in removing the bodies from the places where they were buried to the river and in boats carried away to their houses. Especially was this true of George Jacobs, Rebecca Nurse and John Proctor, to the homelands of each of these persons there was direct communication by boat. The low hill near the river made this method of removing the bodies the most advantageous.

The distance from the house of Joshua Buffum to the top of the hill would make it improbable that a slightly

¹Robert Calef's "More Wonders of the Invisible World," etc., 1700 (edition of 1796), page 213.

exposed hand or foot could be seen. In an air line the distance is about one hundred and twenty rods, which is considerably more than a third of a mile. Not only was the distance great, but the growth of trees, which must have existed to a greater or lesser extent in the common lands, would necessarily have precluded such a view. From the house of Joshua Buffum to the crevice, in an air line, the distance is only about fifty-three rods, and the view unimpeded, as one had to look down the hill and over the marsh and river only.



THE JOHN MACCARTER HOUSE

When a boy,¹ Edward F. Southwick lived with David Nichols at this place, from 1847 to 1852. Mrs. Nichols was a Proctor, and a granddaughter of Thorndike Proctor, who was grandson of John Proctor, who was executed for witchcraft. Mr. Southwick stated to the writer and others that both Mr. and Mrs. Nichols told him that the

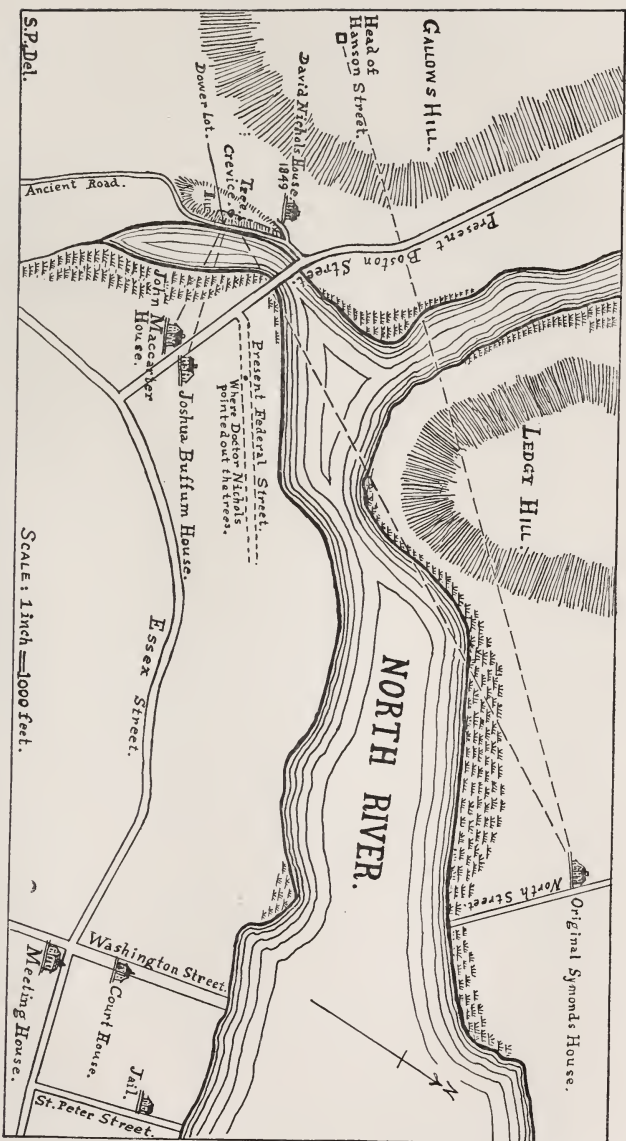
¹He was born Feb. 24, 1833.

witches were executed near the crevice. Mr. Southwick also said that an old man, who lived with Mr. Nichols, and who was named Thorndike Proctor and was a relative of Mrs. Nichols, used to take walks with him, and he also told Mr. Southwick that the witches were hung near the crevice.

An incident in the history of the house¹ which stood on Boston street, next westerly from the house on the westerly corner of Boston and May streets, and which was swept away in the great fire of 1914, is at least suggestive. It was built about 1685, by John Maccarter, a dyer; and was only about two hundred yards from the crevice on the small ridge or hill. If the hangings occurred where the evidence shows they did, in June, July, August, and September, 1692, Mr. Maccarter and his family had from the windows of their home the plainest view. The jails contained many accused or condemned persons who were to all appearances destined to pass by the Maccarter house and in plain view of the family be roughly and cruelly executed. What, if any, was the effect of the executions upon the minds of Mr. Maccarter and his family is unknown; but November twelfth of that autumn, he conveyed the house and lot for a price apparently far below their worth to Nicholas Chattwell of Salem, a mariner.

Returning to the statement of John Symonds who died in a house standing in Salem, at the end of Beverly bridge, that, at the time of his birth, his mother's nurse, from the chamber windows, could see the witches as they were hanging on the day of their execution,—the house where he was born must have been the original Symonds house, which stood on the site of the present Upham schoolhouse on North street, in North Salem. From the southerly windows of that house, one could look over the garden, marsh and river to the place where the locust trees stood and where the crevice is, the view being unobstructed by any natural thing. The hill appeared as in the sketch on page 12, that being the side which would

¹Numbered nineteen on Boston street.



MAP SHOWING LOCATIONS

have been seen from the original Symonds house on North street.

Herewith is given a plan showing the location of the various points relating to the subject matter.

THE WITCH TREE.

This does not refer to a tree upon which any witch may have been hung, nor perhaps to a tree that was in existence in 1692. A superstition prevailed in England in ancient times that a baby or young child would be immune from witchcraft if he were bodily passed through a hole in a rock or something else where the symbolism would be similar. Where the "witches" were executed in Salem a peculiar tree was noticed soon after the summer of the executions. The peculiarity was the division of the trunk, a foot or two above the ground, into two parts, and the two parts grew widely apart. About two or three feet higher, the two parts grew together and became practically a single trunk. How prevalent the ancient practice in England of passing a young child through a hole to prevent him from ever being under diabolical influences was in New England is entirely unknown. Who was the first to suggest the practice in Salem is also unknown. It is true, however, that, for a long time after 1692, babies were passed through this tree for that purpose. The aged Mr. Southwick, already mentioned, told the writer that he had known of the "witch-tree", which stood between the crevice in the rock and Proctor street. Henry Safford, who was born where Ex-Mayor Turner now lives, on Boston street, July 9, 1793, is said, by his granddaughter, to have been the last child passed through the tree. The following letter, which was received by the writer many years ago, relates to this tree :—

11 Laurel Street, No. BEVERLY, Oct. 16, 1911.

SIDNEY PERLEY, Esq.,
Salem, Mass.

Dear Sir:

I have been very much interested in your articles on the location of the site upon which the "witches of Salem"

18 WHERE THE SALEM "WITCHES" WERE HANGED

were hung. It fits in with information that has come to me from time to time.

My wife's great-grandfather at sometime way back lived where Ex-Mayor Turner now lives, and in the rear of that house was said to be a tree called "the witch tree". This tree had a large hole through the trunk and new born children were passed through the hole to protect them from the witches. My wife's grandfather was said to be the last one passed through. In the same line of argument, the Trofatters that lived above near the "big tree", and who claimed to have parts of this tree, always located the spot on the hill in the rear and below the house. I have a small fragment of the tree, or said to be of the old tree.

It has always been a puzzle to me to make the location on the hill above fit in with the information that I had and I am very glad to read your theory of the location.

Very truly yours,

A. L. BABBIDGE.

FLINT ACCOUNT BOOK.

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE POSSESSION OF THE
ESSEX INSTITUTE.

This little book, with sheepskin binding, was the property of Edward Flint of Salem, entries in which were made between 1679 and 1685. The dates of births of his fifteen children are an addition to the vital records of Salem, as the first three only have been given previously in any printed record of the Flint family. Edward Flint was son of William Flint, who settled in Salem about 1645, and a brother of Alice Flint, who married John Pickering. He was born about 1638, according to depositions in the Essex County Quarterly Court records, and married 2 : 8 : 1659, Elizabeth Hart. Their house was at the present corner of Essex and Flint streets. He died in 1711. This account book records his transactions with several of the early shipbuilders of Salem in carting timber from Endicott's, Nurse's, Kebbie's, Harwood's, Felton's, Cooke's, and other woodlots at Salem Farms or Danvers, for keels, windlasses, spales, and other parts of vessels.

Mention is made also of the non-conformist minister, Morgan Jones, who, after a varied career in New England, including service under Captain Samuel Appleton in King Philip's war, settled in Newtown, L. I., about 1680, as pastor of the church in that place. Jones took the oath of fidelity in Salem in 1678.² Cotton Mather, in the *Magnalia*,³ holds him up to ridicule as an impostor, and while his conduct in Salem was not wholly without reproach, he having been arrested for imbibing too freely in 1678, when in the employ of William Lake, records show that he had received a college education and was of good birth. Mather's informant wrote thus :—

I think I once told you of E. F. and M. J., but lest I have not, I'll give you a word of each. E. F., sometimes of Salem, coming to New Haven on Saturday even, being cloathed in *black*, was taken for a minister, and was able to ape one, and humored the mistake

¹See Essex Antiquarian, vol. 5, p. 36, and vol. 7, p. 73.

²Essex County Quarterly Court Records, vol. 7, p. 155.

³Vol. 2, p. 543.

like him that said, *Si vult populus decipi, decipiatur*. [If people want to be cheated, let them be cheated.] Word being carried to Mr. J. T. that a minister was come to town, he immediately procured him to preach both parts of the day. The first was to acceptation; but in the last exercise he plentifully shewed himself to be a whimsical optimist, and besides railed like Rabshakeh, and reviled the magistrates, ministers and churches at such a rate that the people were ready to pull him out of the pulpit.

M. J., a Welch tanner by trade, sometime servant unto Captain P. at Salem, left Salem, went to Saybrook, worked at his trade, and stole Mr. W.'s leather breeches. Thence he went to Staten Island by New York, and set up for a preacher, being a ready *prater*. At the information of a peddling trader, he had an invitation by some few of Killingsworth to visit them and preach in order to settlement. He came, but happening to speak irreverently of something in the Scripture before some of the people, it occasioned such division and tumult that he was not suffered to preach before Mr. Buckingham's advice and consent was obtained; which, when sought, he advised them to enquire first whether this were not the fellow that stole the leather breeches. This proving even so, prevented him at Killingsworth. Thence he went to Bradford, the night before the fast, and making known his pretended function, it was counted a good providence, for they had no minister, and he was earnestly desired to preach, and as readily accepted it. But one Peter Stent, a brother that used to pray and read a good sermon among the people when they had no minister, knew nothing of this (for he lived at a farm), but in the morning came provided to read one of Mr. A. Gray's sermons. But he found Morgan at it when he came; and when he named his text, it was the same *his* intended sermon was on, and out of the curiosity to see how men's wits jumpt in prosecuting the same text, he turned to his book, and found Morgan the same with Mr. Gray, word for word. He followed him while he was weary, and at length run before to a place in the sermon that spoke of *Glasgow sinners*. and there lay wait for Morgan; but when he came there, he turned it, *New England sinners*; and that was all the variation in the whole sermon. The people were mightily affected with the sermon, and were hot upon calling Morgan to the ministry. But Stent discovered the cheat. So they dismissed him, and the *tanner* departed, with liberty to go as far as a new pair of *shoes* would carry him."

The "M. J." mentioned in the foregoing was Morgan Jones. One cannot help questioning if "E. F.," the other impostor from Salem, were Edward Flint.

This Booke is John flint.

Edw. flint his Booke: an Do: 1679.

John: 12: March: 1660.

Willam: 14: ogust: 1661.

Thomas: 2 febewary: 1663.

Jonathan: 28: may: 1665.

David: 15: ogust: 1667.

Samuel: 10: Aprell: 1669.

Elesabeth: 26: November: 1670.

Joseph: 11: June: 1672.

Hannah: 25: March: 1674.

Sarah: 30: November: 1675.

Deborah: 15: Aprell: 1677.

Beniamin: 27: march: 1679.

George 22 noumber 1681.

Abigill 16 August 1683.

Willum 31: october 1685.

John Trask Dr bye Bords 65 fut.

Paid to M^r Robart Hodg three pounds in silver y^e 3:
1: 1680, and fifty bushels of Indean corn by M^r William
Brown, senior.

y^e 7: of September: 1680: then we went to marbelhed
with hay & so continued for three days.

Rec. of John Norman 7 pound of Corddig.

M^r Crumwell Dr. in y^e year: 1679: for plowing, 12s;
for 2 lode of hay, 6s.; 1 lode of otes, 2s.; 2 lode of hay
south field, 8s.; in y^e yere 1680, 2 lode of hay, black
wall, 6s.

John Bullock Dr to foure bushells of otes & half.

M^r Ruck Dr y^e yere 1678, for 1 lode of Corn south
field, 4s.; 2 lode of corn at home, 5s.; in 1679, 1 lode of
corn at home, 2s.; in 1681, by plowing & soing & harrow-
ing of otes, 12s.

y^e first of Bens goeing to Cull was y^e 15 of July 1684.

Ely Gedny Dr 29: 4: 80, 8li. 9s. 9d.; rec. 1 pece of
sherge, 21 yards, at 5s. 3d.; in 1679, 1 lode of timber,
10s.; green pese, 15s.; in 1680, to 1 lode of hay, north
field.

John Maston, to 3 lode of timber, 1 li. 4s.

John Crumwell Dr., 1680, to 1 lode of hay, south field,

4s.; 31 November, 1681, by drawing up wood, 6 Cord, 6s.

John Curwin, Dr., 1 lode of hay, south field, 4s.

John Norman, Dr., 26 : 5 : 1680, 1 lode of timber, 8s.

Capt. George Curwin, Dr., 1 lode of timber, 8s.; 4 lode of hay, 16s.; 1 lode of wood, 16s.; 19 lode of dung, 15s.

Left. Neall, Dr., 28 : 1 : 1681, for 3 lode of bords; for seed corne, 2s.; for 1 peck yers of corn; 2 June, 1681, by shereing shepe; 15 June, 1681, by drawing a frame, 8s.

John Macarty, Dr., by carting 4 thousand of Bricks, 12s.; 3 July, 82, by 4 lode of stons 3s. per lode; by my horse to Ipswich by Stoks, 4s.

Ezeeyah Duch, Dr., 28 of Febiuary: 81: by half a cord of wood.

John Norman, y^e 3 November 82, by 1 lode of timber.

John Norman, Dr., Jan. 16, 1681, by 1 lode of timber, very common; Jan. 17, by 1 lode timber, Nurs; by 1 lode of timber, horwods; Jan. 27, by 1 lode of timber y^e Ceele; 28, by 1 lode of timber, howoods, 4 : 5 : 81: by one lode of timber, horwoods; by 1 lode of spalls, 4 November, 1681, by 1 lode of timber from foots 44 feet; 17 february: 1681: by 1 lode of timber from Endicots; 20 day 12: 81, by 1 lode of timber y^e celle with y^e hole in it; by 2 lode of timber winleses; 3 March, 81, by 2 lode of timber y^e Great pees between; 4 March 81, by a lode of timber y^e Ceele; 27 March, 82, by 1 lode of timber from Cebis [Kebbe?]; 3 June 82: by 1 lode of timber y^e ceel from Nurses; 8 June 82, by 1 lode of timber, Endicots; y^e 12: June 82: by 1 lode of timber, Endicots; y^e 13 Jun: 82: by 1 lode of lumber, Endicots; y^e 21: Jun; 82, by 1 lode of timber; 6 Jun: 82, by 1 lode of timber, feltons; 30 Jun: 82, by 1 lode of timber, kebis; y^e 6 July, 82, by 1 lode of timber, Cebys Cart.

Mr William Boudieh Dr by 3 hondrid of fagits cuttinge & carting to his wharf to fill it at 8s. per hondered; to 5 lodes more, 1li. 2s. 6d.

Mr Jonathan Curwinn by drawing up 6 Cord of wood.

George Deene, Dr 81: by drawing up wood from Gupis: by 1 half Cord of wood y^e 1: of March, 81-82, 4s.

Mr Taly, Dr by my hors to marbellhead y^e 17 March 81: 2s.; by my horse to Winnisemit y^e 23 March: 1681, 4s.

An account of disbursments about harts action against peach in Salem Coort y^t 30 November 1681, going to Marbellhead, etc.

Edmond Bridges, Dr by drawing up 4 cord of wood, Nov. 16, 1681.

Mr Bartellmew Gedny, Dr 25 Nov: 82: by drawing up 2 lode of timber from Gupes, y^e 14 Dec: 82: by 1 lode of timber from tres.

Mr Gidny, Dr y^e 9 Jun: 82: by 1 lode timber, feltons; y^e 25 August: 82: by 1 lode of timber; a great pes at Cooke; y^e 26 August 82: by 1 lode of timber from feltons; y^e 23 october: 82, by 1 lode of timber from feltons, 45; y^e 2 November: 82, by 1 lode of timber; y^e 6, 7, 8, 9, 13, 1 lode each day of timber from feltons.

Mr Crumwell, Dr y^e 17: July: 82: by carting 4 lode of hay from black wall & Marcis, y^e 27 July 82, 12s.; by 1 lode of timber for Gutors; Oct. 84: by 1 day drawing muck, 8s.

Benjeman Small, Dr y^e 25 May 84, by a lode of wood, 5s.

Rennols, y^e 7 July, 1 lam kild.

Mr Gedny, credit by 4 y^d & half of sherg at 5s. 6d. pr. yard; 4 y^d of lining at 18d. per yd.

Paid for a hors Bought at ferfeld; 6 yd. of serge, 2li. 2s.; 1 pr. centin, 1li. 15s.; 4 dozen of Buttons, 2s. 8d.; silk, 1s.

Goodman Rodes, Dr by Boults, 3s. 6d.; by whet, 8s.; Lam, 1s. 6d.; fish, 6d.; milk, 9d.

y^e 10 June, 1683, then Sarea Debroy went to Cholle.

Robins, 4 lams Cild y^e 7 July 83.

Bought for Richard Norman, 9 hogs y^t ways 739 pound, which cost 6li. 8d. One pig cost 19s. 6d.

Bought for sister Norman 2 pigs which ways 280 pr.

Goodwife Harvie, Dr y^e 28 October; 1684, by 1 lode of wood, 4s.

John Trask kild y^e 7 July, 83, 2 wolf, 3 Lams, 1 sould.

Stoadford, Millford, New Haven, Branfoard, Gillfoard,

Celinsworth, Manocoteset river, Sebrook, Lime, New
london.

Morgin Jones,² 2s. of his contri Rate to y^e 4 Rates,
John Simson, 0: 8: 0: 6; Nat. Sharpe, 0: 6: 8: 5; Hen.
Rennolds, 6: 8: 4: 6: Isa. Willams, 0: 8: 0: 6; Hen^r
West, 0: 10: 0: 6; And: Auger, 0: 5: 0: 2; John Lech,
0: 6: 8: 3; Rich. Maber, 0: 6: 8: 2; George Pete, 6:
8: 3: 6; John Parker, 6: 8: 4: 6; Will. Gill, 1: 9:
6: 6; Sam. Roopes, 6: 8: 4; Rob. Buffum.

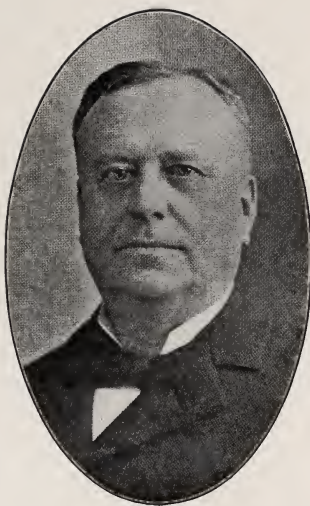
Shipt on Bord y^e Sloop frendship Robert Hodg, master,
y^e sum of 22 bushells of wheat & halfe y^e 23: Jenu-
ary: 1682, from Millford 17 feb: 8 Bushels of whet &
2 Barls of pork, Novemb. 2, marked E. F. 18 feb: more
8 Bushells of whet at Greenewich, Stoadford; Lockwood,
1 Bushell of wheat, ould Bell, 1 Bushell wheat. By Bety,
Lockwood, 1 Bushell of winter wheat; y^e 5 of March
1682/3 Ship on Bord y^e sloop frendship 15 Bushels winter
wheat by foris.

Zenas Collfox, Dr. y^e 7 of Desember: 82, by 1 lode of
wood, 5s.

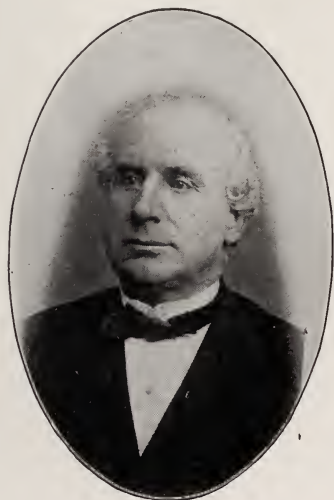
²See Riker's "Annals of Newtown, L. I."



Hon. ISRAEL M. SPELMAN
President of the Boston & Maine
1862-1866



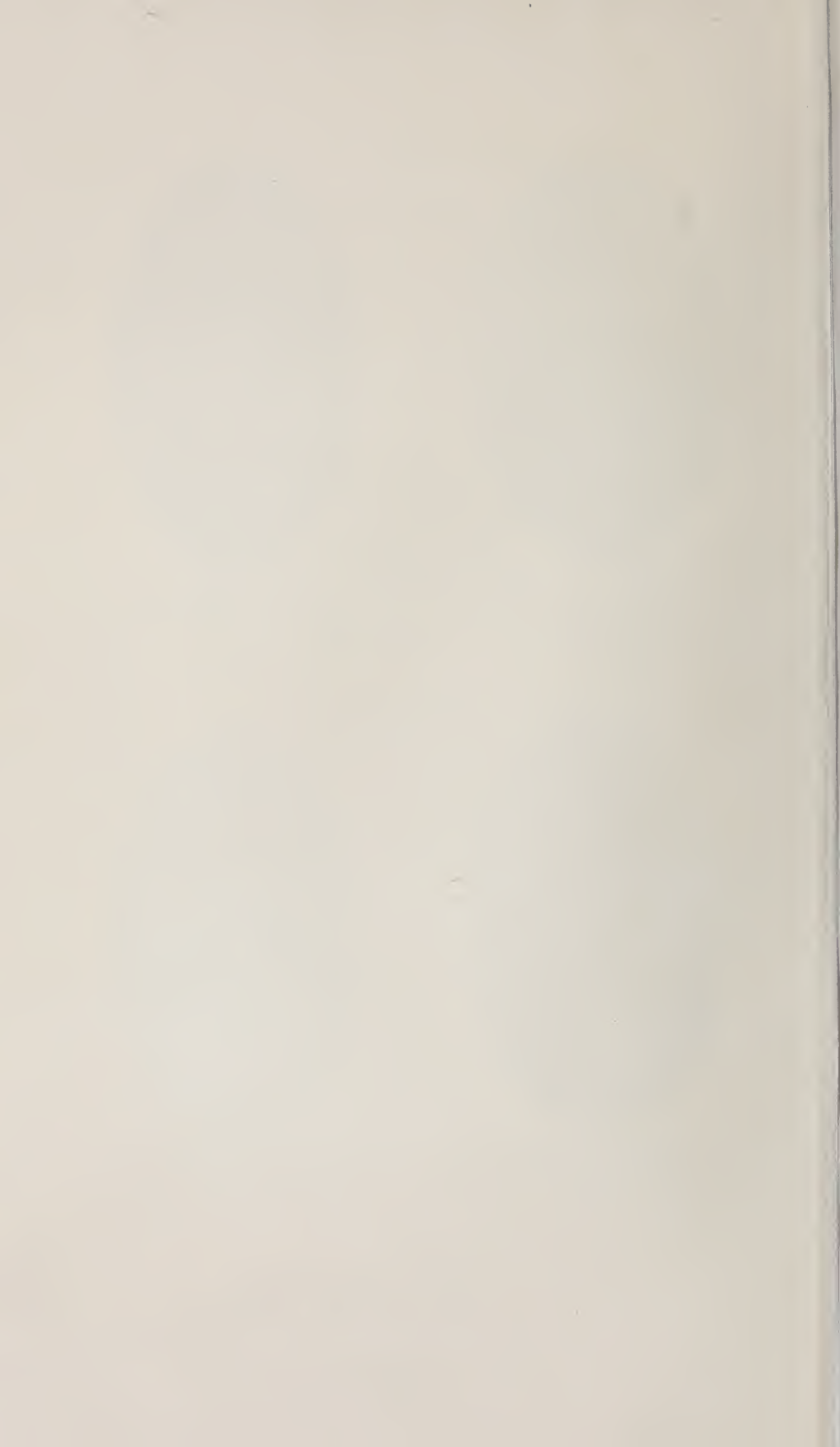
LUCIUS TUTTLE
President of the Boston & Maine
1893-1909



WILLIAM MERRITT
Superintendent of the Boston & Maine
1855-1873



CHARLES MINOT
Superintendent of the Boston & Maine
1842-1850



THE BOSTON AND MAINE RAILROAD.

A HISTORY OF THE MAIN ROAD, WITH ITS TRIBUTARY LINES.

BY FRANCIS B. C. BRADLEE.

(Continued from Vol. LVI, page 264.)

As far back as 1845, also, an agitation had begun for a railroad from Danvers to the main line of the Boston and Maine at South Reading, now Wakefield, but not until March 15, 1852, was the Danvers Railroad Company incorporated "with power to construct a railroad from some convenient point on the line of the Danvers and Georgetown road in North Danvers, thence running through the towns of Reading, Lynnfield, and South Reading, . . . to unite with the Boston and Maine Railroad . . . at some convenient point in South Reading . . ." The total length of the road was nine miles, and the capital authorized, \$100,000; total length of the Danvers and Georgetown road, twelve miles. The Danvers and Danvers and Georgetown Railroads were given power on April 30, 1852, to form a corporate union under the name of the latter road, and were also given power to enter on the Newburyport Railroad at Georgetown, and in addition could lease their roads to either the Boston and Maine or Eastern companies. It was found, however, so hard to finance the construction of these two small roads that, in 1853, the directors of the Danvers company applied to the management of the Boston and Maine for help. The Legislature of Massachusetts had but a short time before passed a bill allowing the Danvers road to receive subscriptions to its stock from the Boston and Maine to an amount not exceeding \$40,000. After much hesitation, the Boston and Maine offered to take a lease of the Danvers Railroad, provided an agreement could be made with the Danvers and Georgetown and Newburyport for the joint operation of their respective railroads.

This arrangement was made, and on May 30, 1853, a lease of the Danvers to the Boston and Maine was exe-

cuted for one hundred years. In doing this the management of the latter road was influenced largely by the fact that it thus controlled what was known as the "middle route" to Newburyport, which could be used offensively or defensively in fighting the Eastern.

While the Danvers and the Danvers and Georgetown Railroads were opened for inspection on September 2, 1854, they were not used for public travel until October 23 of the same year. The *Boston Transcript* of October 24, 1854, says: "It was a great day for the hard working citizens of several towns of Essex County on Monday, October 23, when a new route between Boston and Newburyport was opened to the public. This road connects with the Boston and Maine at South Reading (Wakefield), and passes through Lynnfield, Tapleville, North Danvers, Topsfield, Boxford, Georgetown, Newbury, and Newburyport. We understand that a large number of persons from Georgetown, Boxford and Topsfield, who had never travelled with a steam horse, ventured the experiment of jumping on and trying him. . ."

The schedule of trains was as follows: Trains left Newburyport for Boston at 7.45 and 11 A. M., 1.45 and 5 P. M. Returning, they left Boston for Newburyport at 8.05 A. M. and 12 M., 3 and 5.30 P. M. The trip from Boston to Newburyport consumed one hour and thirty-four minutes, and it was accomplished by wood-burning locomotives. In 1858 a saving of 36 per cent., or \$1,500 a year, was accomplished by the substitution of coal for wood as fuel.

After the Danvers and Georgetown became part of the Newburyport Railroad Company, that road's credit seems to have vanished completely, and after a precarious existence of a few years, during which matters reached such a pass that the president and directors were obliged to become personally responsible to the Boston Locomotive Works for two new locomotives, the "Newburyport" and the "Yankee," the road was leased to the Boston and Maine for one hundred years from February 21, 1860. The latter company assumed the responsibility for the Newburyport Railroad's bonded debt, amounting to \$400,000, its stock being practically worthless.

For a time the Boston and Maine and Eastern companies entered into a traffic agreement to divide the Newburyport freight and passenger business, but in a few years they, as usual, fell out, and several years of sharp competition ensued, so that in 1867 the Boston and Maine reduced its fare for passengers between Newburyport and Boston to fifty cents, much below the regular rates. On September 7, 1905, the Newburyport Railroad Company voted to pay three dollars a share for all outstanding stock, and on October 11, 1905, the Danvers Railroad took the same action. The president, treasurer and directors of these companies at that time were the officers of the Boston and Maine Railroad. The latter corporation was, on September 28, 1906, authorized to issue \$306,000, 20-year, 4 per cent. bonds to acquire title to the Newburyport Railroad, and also to issue \$152,000 4 per cent. 20-year bonds to acquire title to the Danvers Railroad. These roads accordingly passed out of existence forever.

In 1848 the Massachusetts Legislature had chartered the Saugus Branch Railroad Company, with leave to build a railroad from Lynn Common through Saugus to Malden, a distance of about ten miles, connecting at the latter place with the main road of the Boston and Maine. The whole project was in reality nothing but an attempt on the part of the Boston and Maine to tap some of the Eastern Railroad's Lynn business.

Work on the new line was begun in 1850, and dragged along slowly for lack of funds, but finally, on February 1, 1853, the Saugus branch was opened for travel with four trains each way daily. Andrews Breed of Lynn was superintendent, and, in the beginning, the only intermediate stations were East Saugus, Saugus, Cliftondale, East Malden, now Linden, and Maplewood. In the meantime, however, the ever-watchful Eastern had managed to secure the controlling interest in the Saugus Branch Company, and soon began to complain that this branch, as operated, which then did not join the main line of the Eastern at West Lynn, benefitted no one but their bitter enemy, the Boston and Maine, as they were forced

to keep up separate rolling stock, which could not by any means be of use to them on other parts of their system.

Accordingly the Eastern Railroad petitioned the Legislature for permission to discontinue the connection of the branch with the Boston and Maine at Malden, and instead extend it to join their main line at South Malden (now Everett) Junction, and also extend it at its further end to connect with their main line at West Lynn. This would give them a "loop line" between Boston and Lynn and enable some of the main line trains to be run that way. The Legislature gave the required permission, and the new connections were made in 1855, but traces of the old original roadbed can be clearly seen at Malden. This was long before the days of the trolley cars, or even the horse cars, and it must be remembered that these suburban branch roads near Boston were then of great financial importance as "feeders" to the trunk lines.

In view of the long continued warfare between the Boston and Maine and Eastern companies, it is strange to find them, in 1853, entering into an amicable part-ownership of the steamer "Daniel Webster." This fine, new, side-wheel boat of 900 tons was built at New York to run between Portland, Rockland, Penobscot river landings and Bangor. The "steamboat trains" to connect with her were run by both roads. Direct rail communication between Boston and Bangor was not made until 1857, and the "Railroad line," as the service outlined above was called, always was well patronized, resulting in large dividends for the "Daniel Webster."

The Eastern was not the only road against which the Boston and Maine adopted aggressive measures. In July, 1851, a "New Route" between Boston and Lowell was advertised by the Boston and Maine, which was arranged to use the latter's line to Wilmington Junction, thence the Salem and Lowell road, which was then an independent company, to Lowell. One gains the impression from the advertisement that the trains were through trains, without change of either cars or engines, seemingly an attempt to divert traffic from the rich Boston and Lowell Railroad, then at the height of its glory.

SAUGUS BRANCH RAILROAD.

**ARRANGEMENT COMMENCING
MONDAY, OCTOBER 16, 1854.**

Passenger Trains will leave WEST LYNN for BOSTON & MAINE RAIL
ROAD STATION, in Haymarket Square, through Saugus, Cliftondale,
East Malden, Maplewood, Malden Center, and Edgeworth, as follows:

TRAINS FOR BOSTON---LEAVE

Lynn - - - -	7,30	9,35	1,45	4,40
East Saugus -	7,34	9,39	1,48	4,44
Saugus Center	7,38	9,43	1,52	4,49
Cliftondale -	7,43	9,48	1,57	4,54
East Malden -	7,47	9,52	2,00	4,57
Maplewood -	7,50	9,55	2,04	5,00
Malden Center	7,54	10,00	2,09	5,05
Edgeworth - -	7,58	10,03	2,13	5,08

TRAINS FROM BOSTON---LEAVE

BOSTON	8,30	12,00	3,00	6,00
EDGEWORTH	8,40	12,10	3,10	6,10
MALDEN CENTER	8,43	12,13	3,13	6,13
MAPLEWOOD	8,48	12,18	3,18	6,18
EAST MALDEN	8,53	12,23	3,23	6,23
CLIFTONDALE	8,58	12,28	3,28	6,28
SAUGUS CENTER	9,02	12,32	3,32	6,32
EAST SAUGUS	9,06	12,36	3,36	6,36

The Train on Saturdays, leaving Lynn at 8 P.M., & Boston at 10 P.M., will be discontinued.

ANDREWS BREED, Supt.

Lynn, Oct. 10, 1854.

W. W Kellogg, Printer, Typographic Hall, Over Depot, Lynn.

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The Lowell management promptly sued the Boston and Maine for infringement of the special rights secured by their charter, but in spite of the eloquence of Rufus Choate, they got very little satisfaction, as public sentiment was then strongly in favor of as much railroad competition as possible.

Referring once more to the Medford branch, previously mentioned, an article in the *Medford Historical Register* for April, 1914, by Moses W. Mann and others, contains so much interesting matter that it has been thought well to reproduce a portion of it, as follows:—

This railroad was chartered May 7, 1845, on petition of James O. Curtis and others. In town meeting of June 22, 1845, the petition was endorsed by vote, and another vote instructed the selectmen to appear before the Legislature and look after the town's interests. . . . When the Medford Branch was projected . . . Medford had easy access to Boston, with its own terminal at Medford square, then called the market place. It would have been better if the committee had looked more clearly after the interests of the town than it did, and not have permitted a grade crossing of old Ship street. Of the Branch, Brooks' History says, "It was readily finished and proves to be a productive and convenient road,"—and it was in its infantile days. At the present time [1920] it is a problem to the managers and a small factor in passenger transit.

Describing the Medford station, which still does duty, Mr. Mann goes on to say:—

Passengers passed through the depot into the train shed that housed two cars; extra cars stood outside. The ticket office had a window in the main building and in the shed also. There were three docks from the river to Ship street. The railroad partially closed two of them. Crossing Ship street, it had a fairly clear route to the main line, running under bridges at Cross and Park streets. At Park street a locomotive tank was supplied with water from an ordinary hand pump mounted on a platform. Spring street and Glenwood were not on the map in 1845-6-7. One old house was at the foot of a lane near the present crossing. The land farther down was a swamp and salt marsh. The road was single tracked; engine built at Lowell, weighed about eleven tons and was without a cab; cars to correspond. . . .

Engineers.

Joseph Seavy,
Robert Gregg,
James B. Rice,
George Folsom.
John F. Sanborn.

Conductors.

John F. Sanborn,
Ralph Smith,
William Crook,
Edward Weymouth,
Albert Hamilton.

John F. Sanborn was conductor a short time and then station agent at South Reading; . . . later was engineer on the Medford Branch until the railroad [engineers'] strike in 1877, then to New York Elevated [Railroad], where he died about 1880. Mr. Sanborn will be remembered as the engineer who, feeling bound by his membership in the Brotherhood of [Locomotive] Engineers, left his engine when the strike was ordered. He, however, ran it into the engine house and left it in proper order and safe condition; this in contrast to some others. The strike was unsuccessful, and later a company of Medford citizens asked for his reinstatement. The managers bore testimony to his previous excellent service, but firmly declined, saying, "The men who served us in our need, at the risk of their lives [meaning more than ordinary railroad risk], cannot be displaced to make room for *any* who deserted us." . . .

The original locomotive on the Medford branch was named, appropriately, the "Medford," and the article in the *Medford Historical Register* says:—

After it, came the engine "Cocheco," built at Lowell, on the Branch a long time; weight, twelve tons. And later, and for many years, the engine "Camilla," that weighed twenty tons and was built in Boston. We fancy that Mr. Crook, the conductor, with his hat, dickey and resplendent badge, would create a sensation on the Medford Branch today. . . . We recall that the "flying switch," [just before entering the Boston station the locomotives were uncoupled from their trains and the cars rolled into the terminal on their own momentum and controlled by the hand brakes], was discontinued at terminals at the time of the strike [1877] as a safety measure, and trains since then have been "pulled in." . . . The engine "Camilla" seems to have inspired a former Medford boy to poetic flight, as appears in these verses:—

CAMILLA, 30.

In the golden days of youth,
Of which many of us know
Who lived in old town Medford
Some three decades ago,
There was a steed attractive
To the youthful minds aglow,
'Twas the iron horse "Camilla"
Of thirty years ago.

This creature, almost human,
Was astir from morn till night;
She'd take the road at six-twenty,
And till dark pursue her flight;
Was waited for by hundreds,
And seldom ever slow—
That bright, old, sleek "Camilla"
Of thirty years ago.

The bell upon the depot,
Which is never heard today,
Would call the many people
Who wished to go away;
But there would ring a sweeter one
As through Park Street she'd go,
'Twas that of dear "Camilla"
Of thirty years ago.

We'd hear her on the crossing
And coming round the curve;
She'd always make the "fly-switch"
With very steady nerve,
And over Mystic River,
Where tide would ebb and flow,
She'd make the drawbridge quiver
Some thirty years ago.

The pride of all the round-house,
But especially of John,
Whose full name was John Sanborn,
A name now so well known.
Though not the superintendent,
He was without a foe,
And ran this old "Camilla"
Just thirty years ago.

We loved our old "Camilla,"
We boys and girls as well;
We loved to ride behind her
And listen to her bell.
That sound was one of welcome
Where'er we wished to go,
'Twas our young pride "Camilla"
Of thirty years ago.

'Twas when Conductor Hamilton
Would wave his hand, she'd start,
And through the bridge and down the track
She'd travel like a dart.
Would fly her way to Wellington;
I'd like to have you know
That none could beat "Camilla"
Of thirty years ago.

And on the double track
She was always found in line;
Would reach her place in Boston
In twenty minutes' time.
But then the cars were smaller
And "links and pins" to go,
And air brakes unfamiliar,
Some thirty years ago.

But things since then have changed,
And also numbers too,
And engine names have gone,
While many men are through
Who used to work and wonder
And travel to and fro
Behind dear, passed "Camilla"
Of thirty years ago.

As boys and girls we are no more,
As in the days gone by,
We have grown and scattered,
And some of us lie
Awaiting the train—of angels—
Heaven's bright call, and lo!
The "reward" long promised
Of the golden years ago.

—CHARLES E. PRESTON.

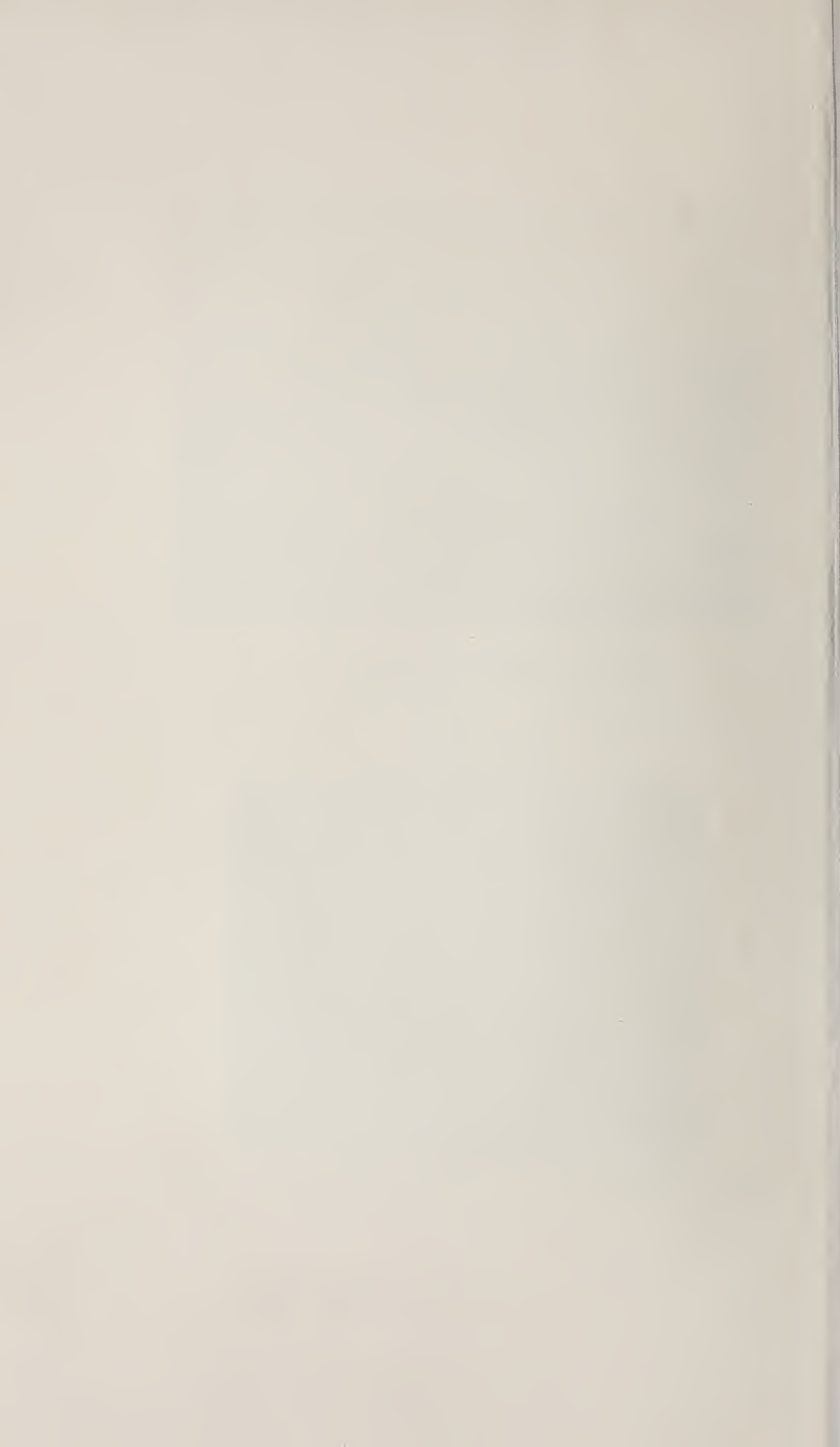
New York City.



GEORGETOWN RAILROAD STATION, ERECTED IN 1850
From a photograph taken about 1865



TOPSFIELD RAILROAD STATION, ERECTED IN 1854
From a photograph taken about 1872



The "Camilla" was an "insider," i. e., the steam cylinders were inside the space between the forward trucks. The power was exerted upon the cranked axle of the forward driving wheels, a type of locomotive now rare.

Soon after the "Camilla's" retirement three new engines were put in service, named "Medford," "Mystic" and "Cradock," the latter larger than the others. They were outside connection and "double enders," having head-light and "cow-catcher" at the end of the tank, this low enough to allow the engineer view of the track as the backward run was made. These did away with the turntable at the engine house. The turning around of the engine was always of interest to the boys of Medford as elsewhere.

The names and ornamental brass have gone, but the "double-enders" are still in commission on the Branch. Another thing gone is the bell on the roof. It became cracked and went to the railroad "graveyard." Its ringing was a public convenience missed by many. The station master would deal out his tickets and make change with one hand and pull the bell-rope with the other, and experienced patrons and listeners knew by the sound of the bell how brisk the last minute's patronage was. A time card, probably the earliest issued, October 4, 1847, announces trains:

From Medford, 7, 8 1/4 A. M., 1 1/2, 3 1/2 and 5 P. M.

From Boston, 7 1/2 A. M., 12 M., 2 1/4, 4 1/2 and 6 P. M.

Saturday evening, from Medford, 6 1/2 P. M.; from Boston, 9 P. M.

Fare, 12 cents.

There was a time when it seemed probable that the Medford station would become a way-station by the building of an extension to Stoneham, but the project failed to materialize, and a terminal it has remained.

From the annual report of the Boston and Maine for 1851 is learned the interesting fact that although rail-roading was then in its infancy and a furious competition quite the order of the day, through tickets were sold at its Boston station for 131 stations on 21 different rail-roads, viz., to the Kennebec, Penobscot and Calais at the East, and to St. Johnsbury, Burlington, Ogdensburg, Niagara Falls, Buffalo, Michigan and Chicago at the North and West; also to four lines of steamers. It would seem, too, that the Boston and Maine was the only road which sold tickets for all the five different routes to the White Mountains.

A short description of the practical management of the trains in the early days may not be out of place here. Through the kindness of Mr. William Merritt of Somerville, Mass., formerly superintendent of the Western Division of the Boston and Maine Railroad, it has been possible to reproduce in fac-simile an exceedingly rare "Boston and Maine Time Table and Rules for Running Trains" for 1845, the same year in which the road reached Boston on its own tracks. The author is also largely indebted to Mr. Merritt for much valuable information pertaining to early days, which it would have been hard, not to say impossible, to obtain in any other way. Many of the early operating rules read rather quaintly to us today, but they show grasp of the important principles, and, without boasting, it may be said that in many important regulations the Boston and Maine was far ahead of other railroads.

For example, the "flagging rule," probably the most important of all, and today more strictly insisted upon than any other, we find in full force as early as 1845. There is no specific mention of it in the regulations of the Eastern Railroad, the Boston and Maine's principal competitor, until 1859. By 1853, the time-table and rules of the Boston and Maine had increased from four small printed pages to a pamphlet of sixteen good-sized pages. Thomas S. Williams was the superintendent, and there were then 27 daily trains in each direction, three being freights and the remainder passenger trains. Through trains for the North and Portland left Boston at 8.40 A. M., 1.15, 6.10 and 8 P. M., the last being the "steamboat train." There were six trains each way on the Medford branch and a "theatre train" on the main road as far as Reading on Thursdays only. The outward trains had the low numbers and the inward trains the high numbers, this being the universal practice on all railroads at that time. Branch trains had no numbers, and freight trains were designated as "freight train Number 1," etc.

On Thursday afternoon, January 6, 1853, one of the worst accidents that ever befell the Boston and Maine Railroad occurred, in which Benjamin Pierce, the young

son and only surviving child of Franklin Pierce, then President-elect of the United States, was instantly killed. The train left Boston at 12.15 o'clock P. M., and Mr. and Mrs. Pierce, with the boy, boarded it upon its arrival in Andover, Mass., where they had spent the preceding night at the home of Mr. Pierce's brother-in-law, Mr. John Aiken. The boy had been visiting there several weeks, and they were starting on the return trip to their home in Concord, N. H. When between two and three miles from the town of Andover the train was derailed by the breaking of the forward axle of the tender on the left side. The train happened to be on a slight curve and along a high embankment built up largely of rubble-stone. The shock threw the cars from the track, some of them falling down the embankment. The President and his wife were substantially unhurt, but the son, who was standing, looking out of the window, was killed. About half a dozen others were killed and many were injured, nearly all of the victims belonging in Lawrence.

Mrs. Pierce, who was an invalid, never recovered from the shock and grief, which is said to have hastened her death a few years later. Naturally the railroad company was sued by many of those injured, but Mrs. Pierce, who was very pious, believed the accident to have been a visitation of Providence to take the son away from the President, that he might be better prepared to devote himself wholly to the duties of his great office. Not only did she decline to sue, but induced her husband to have retained General Benjamin F. Butler, then at the height of his legal fame, to defend the Boston and Maine Railroad. The negligence relied on in the evidence was that the axle, which broke at the journal,—that is, at the line inside of the box in which the axle runs, and between it and the wheel,—had been cracked for a very long time. The crack had opened entirely around the axle, which was two and a half inches in diameter, and the wheel had been wobbling backward and forward on that crack until the faces of the iron in the axle had all been worn and pointed, yet not absolutely smooth. A portion a little

less than an inch in diameter in the centre of the axle alone held it at the moment when it broke.

As soon as General Butler had the opportunity, he went to the repair shop to look at the broken axle. This case was for many years considered a very celebrated one, so that it may not be uninteresting to show General Butler's method of defence, quoted from his "Book:"—

I saw that it [the axle] was of fine iron or it would not have held as long as it did. I examined particularly the man detailed to inspect axles by tapping them with a hammer. . . . He assured me with great positiveness that he had struck the axle twice, but found no signs of a crack. I did not believe much in that, because, in the first place, I doubted if it would show by the sound whether it was cracked and I also thought he would say what he did say whether he had heard it or not. I then caused an axle of the same size and of the same iron to be broken square off by hydraulic pressure, the ends showing the same grain of iron as was shown in the centre of the one broken in the accident. I had a piece of this newly broken axle put solidly in a vise. I then asked a skilled mechanic to take a fourteen-pound hammer used for rivetting large rivets, and with such blows as he would use in heading a rivet, keeping an account of them accurately, to make the broken end of this axle as nearly an exact fac-simile as possible of the one broken under the tender. . . . Next, I interviewed the engineer and fireman of the train, and asked them if anything to attract their attention had happened to the train after it left Boston. They said there had not until they got to Andover, but in passing the street at Andover they struck a very severe blow on a frog, which afterwards was found to have been misplaced, and although they slowed up the speed of the train, they could see no evil effects from this, and therefore went on until the time of the accident, when suddenly the axle broke and the train was derailed.

They said on the next morning they went down to this spot where they felt the shock and found the frog was very much bruised by something having struck it, and upon inquiry they had learned that a heavy load of stone had passed over the upper portion of the frog and displaced it so as to push the end of it away from the line of the track on which the train was running at the time of the accident.

I had a very careful measurement made of the distance between the frog and the place of the derailment of the train. The fireman said that he was on the tender throwing down wood at the time of

the blow, and that apparently it was very much heavier on the tender than it was on the engine. Assuming that the axle was cracked back there at the frog, and that the crack opened and closed at least once with every revolution of the wheel, by taking the circumference of the wheel I was able to calculate that the crack would open and close more times in running the distance than it took blows of the hammer to smooth the end of the axle experimented upon, provided the weight of the tender was as effective only as the blow of the hammer. The prosecution evidently had not reflected upon these circumstances, if they knew of them. They put on the stand a very honest, reliable and competent railroad machinist, from the Boston and Providence Railroad. . . . They showed him the axle and asked him to explain to the jury how it broke. He said in substance that a crack had been started around the axle in the line made by the tool in turning out the journal; that after it was cracked, as the wheel revolved, the pressure was brought upon every part of that crack as the surfaces separated by the crack were brought together; and that pressure would tend to wear the surface of the iron in the crack until it was given the appearance shown in the axle. . . . He supposed that it broke at the moment that it did because of some shock in turning the curve. He was asked how far the wheel would have run in order to have the broken face worn down as much as it was. . . . He thought that it might have run for three months to make the axle look as it was; how much more he could not say, and it might be considerably less, but he thought not much.

Upon cross-examination I presented him with my fac-simile of the axle and asked him what difference, if any, he could see between it and the one broken in the accident. He looked at them very carefully and said he saw no special difference. I asked him if my fac-simile could be made by ordinary blows with a riveting hammer of fourteen pounds weight. He said he thought it might.

"Well," said I, "would the weight of the tender, as the wheel revolved, make an impact as heavy as an ordinary blow of such a hammer?"

"When the crack first started," he said, "it might not, but subsequently and especially towards the last it would be very much heavier, because the crack then would have got so far open as to give an actual blow when it closed."

"Here," I said, "is another piece of axle broken short off. Will you, if I will pay you for your time and trouble as I ought to, after you leave the stand, take this to a neighboring machine shop and put it in a vise, and see how long it will take you to make this last

piece of axle resemble as nearly as possible the broken one of the tender?"

"Yes, if it won't take me too long," said he, very good-naturedly.

"I hope it won't keep you too long," I said, "but I want you to keep an account of the blows that you strike, and also keep an account of the time, and in the morning I will finish your cross-examination."

When he came in the morning he brought in his work, and he had made rather a better fac-simile than mine. I asked him the number of blows used, which he gave me, and which I now forget.

"Now," said I, "suppose that by some sudden jar this crack had been started in the axle under the tender and had gone on until it broke, would not the broken end look exactly as it does now and as the one you have made with the hammer?" He said he did not see why it would not.

"First the circumference of the wheel we know as so much," I continued. "Now, the cracked surface of the axle would receive a blow at least every time the wheel revolved in running the distance of two and one-half miles. Won't you take your pencil and calculate and tell us whether it would not receive more blows in going that distance than it took you to smooth down the end of the axle which I gave you?"

He started back after he got through his calculation, saying, "I never thought of this before; I shall have to take back my answer about how long it would take to put the axle in this condition after the crack began, and saying I don't know anything about it." I then put on my own testimony upon the matter and showed that some quarter less blows were used in preparing the end of the other axle than the broken axle received in going the distance from the frog in Andover to where the derailment took place.

I then put on the testimony of my engineer and fireman, who gave their evidence in a very straightforward, honest manner. I also put on my man who said he tapped the wheels, but after he left the stand I told the jury I was bound to call him, but I didn't place any special reliance on his testimony, because he was under great temptation to tell the story as he did to save himself from harm, although I believe he honestly thought so. It went to the jury, who gave us a verdict. There were no other cases drawn out of this derailment tried to my knowledge. I am happy to say that the verdict of the jury entirely confirmed Mrs. Pierce in her belief, and as she thanked me more than once for my exertion in ferreting out the matter, I certainly did not enter into any discussion as to her faith.

Until the introduction of the air-brake, or, rather, the vacuum brake, which was used by the Boston and Maine for some years before they adopted the present Westinghouse air-brake, the trains, both passenger and freight, were equipped with hand-brakes only, usually of the "Hodge patent" wheel variety. On trains of four, five or six cars, it was the duty of the brakeman to stand up near the brakes between the two rear cars; the through Portland trains usually had two brakemen. The link and pin couplings were used and caused the loss of many an arm or hand; the platforms of the cars were so far apart that one had to jump from one to the other. The link slanted at about forty-five degrees as it hung down, and in making a "hitch" it had to be raised to a level, inserted in the opposite draw-bar, and the pin dropped in. Many careful men carried sticks with them to lift up the links in making "hitches."

The train crews were supposed to know the road sufficiently well to make the regular stops without the engineer whistling for "brakes," and, as before stated, the brakeman applied the brakes between the two rear cars, the baggage master on the two forward cars and the fireman on the tender. Neither the conductor nor engineer touched the brakes except in cases of urgent necessity. When either end of the route was reached, the baggage master and brakeman unloaded all the baggage, swept and cleaned the cars, attended to the stoves, and provided the latter with coal or wood for the return trip. The conductor, in addition to running the train and collecting tickets and fares, was obliged to take charge of the tin boxes containing the money collections at the various stations along the line of the road, a matter of no small responsibility.

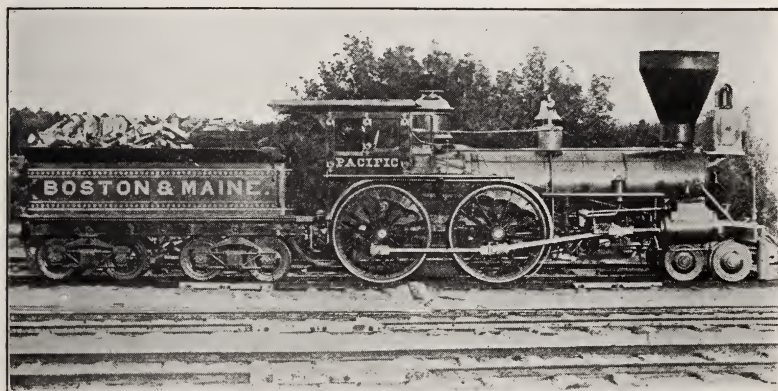
Many of the early freight cars had no brakes, a "brake car" attached to the rear of every freight train supplying the need. On either side of the draw-bars of the early freight cars were two six-inch blocks of wood, with an iron face called the "bumpers." These deadly "bumpers" claimed their victims but too often, and were the one thing dreaded by the old-time railroad men. In the

early eighties came the modern draw-bar and coupler combined. It is said that this was invented by an old man named Mitchell, a car cleaner at Lancaster, N. H., but like most inventors, he received neither the honor nor financial benefit from it. After the memorable Revere disaster on the Eastern Railroad, in 1871, the New England railroads adopted many safety devices little thought of until then. Thus, in 1872, the Boston and Maine Railroad introduced the Miller platforms and couplers on passenger cars and the vacuum safety-brake, controlled by the engineer and thought by many railroad men to be superior to the air-brake. The first Pullman parlor cars also are thought to have been first run by the Boston and Maine in 1872.

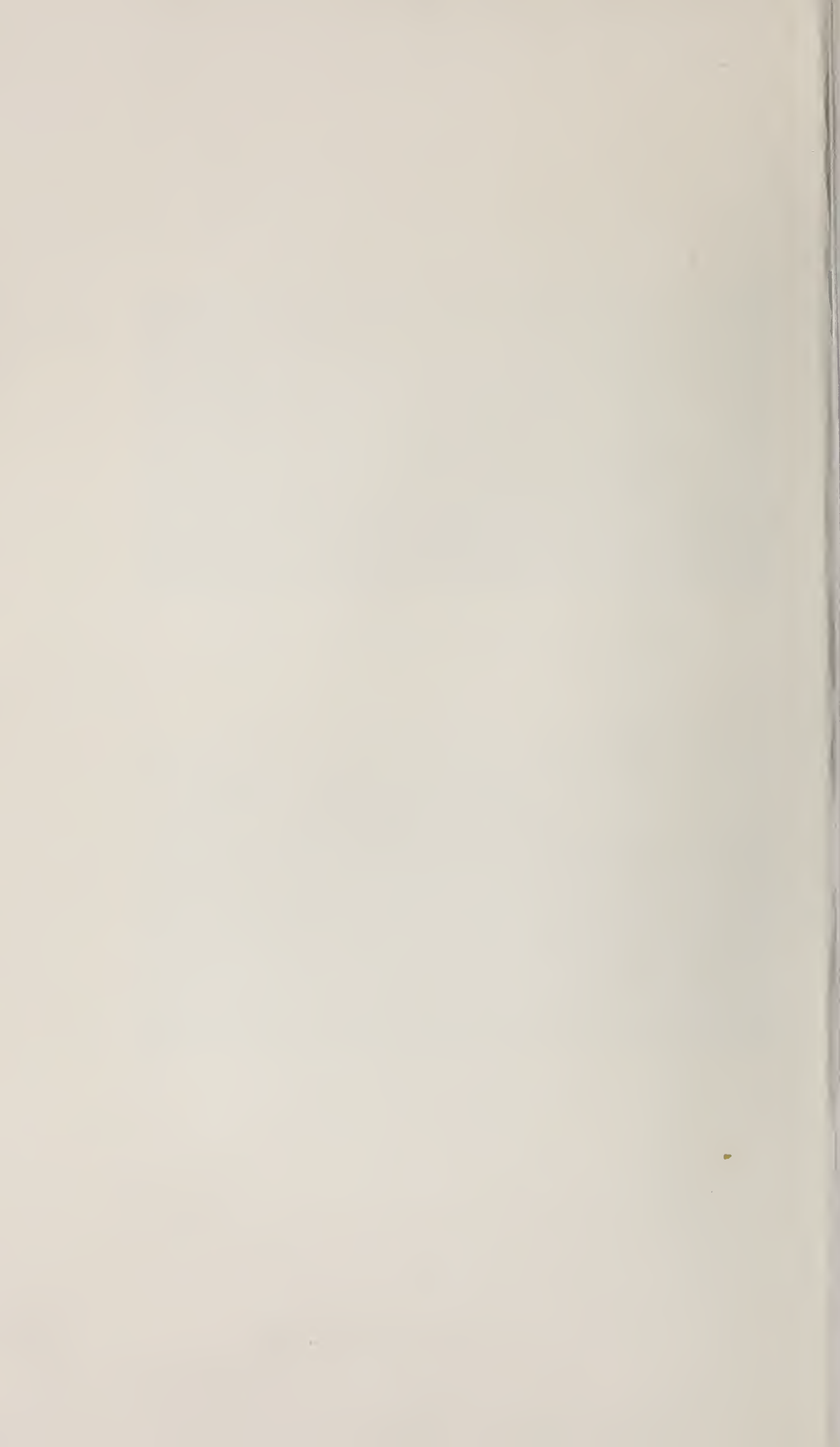
All the early locomotives were named and more or less ornamented. The bells and whistles were polished to a high silver brightness, and bright shining brass bands encircled the boilers. The tenders and cabs were ornamented with fancy scroll designs, and the oil cups and other parts of the running machinery were kept polished and cleaned by the fireman, this work consuming, sometimes, two or three hours of his time each day. The engineer's position was entirely different from that occupied by him today. He was master of his engine, often running the same one for many years; his word was law as to its repairs, which he superintended. The work of an engineer comprised not only the entire care of a locomotive as to its running, but he also cared for all the journals, and renewed boxes, bolts, nuts, in fact any worn parts that two men, the fireman assisting, could attend to at the end of the run. By 1850 the engines were all provided with cabs for their occupants' shelter from storm. It may be stated, also, that the Boston and Maine was one of the last, if not the very last, of the New England railroads to keep up the practice of naming its engines. Many of the early locomotives were of a type now obsolete, called "insiders," shown in the picture of the "Lawrence," i. e., the cylinders were close together under the forward end of the boiler. These required a cranked axle for the forward pair of driving wheels.



LOCOMOTIVE "LAWRENCE," WEIGHT TWENTY-FIVE TONS
Built by the Lawrence Machine Shop, 1853



WOOD-BURNING LOCOMOTIVE "PACIFIC," BUILT IN 1857



In 1855, Mr. Thomas L. Williams resigned as superintendent, and the directors elected in his place Mr. William Merritt. Mr. Merritt belonged to the well-known Salem family of that name. He began his railroad career in 1842 as brakeman on the Boston and Maine, and was soon after baggage master and conductor on the old Essex Railroad, operated by the Eastern Railroad, now known as the Lawrence branch, between Salem and Lawrence. From there he went to the Cocheco Railroad of New Hampshire as superintendent, later returning to the Boston and Maine as general freight agent, which position he filled until his election as superintendent.

In those days the superintendent of a railroad practically ran his particular road, and was not, as today, a mere chief clerk, with no real authority. Mr. Merritt was a man of great executive ability, and soon placed the road, in regard to its practical operation, on a firmer footing than ever. Under him the use of the telegraph in train operation was begun; at first only occasionally, in case of wrecks or snow storms when trains were badly disarranged. Previous to the early 1860's the regular Boston and Portland Telegraph Company's wires were depended upon; their headquarters were on State street in Boston, and much inconvenience was caused by the delays in running between the telegraph office and the station in Haymarket square. The Boston and Portland Co. was eventually absorbed by the Western Union Telegraph Co. About 1861 or 1862, Mr. Merritt had telegraph wires installed in his office in the Boston station, and employed an operator during the day to control the trains, a train sheet, so called, being used to record the movement of trains. In 1872, after the Revere disaster on the Eastern Railroad, which was largely due to the telegraph not being used, the Boston and Maine and nearly all the other large New England railroads introduced this new method of dispatching trains by telegraph, with day and night operators at the more important stations. It was not until 1884, however, that trains were placed under complete telegraphic control; previous to that time the trains were run according to the time-tables and the rules printed therein regarding their rights.

The time-table for 1870 shows that the Boston and Maine ran thirty-seven trains each way daily, five of them freights and the remainder passenger trains. The fact also is revealed that the Boston and Maine then controlled and operated what was called the Dover and Winnipiseogee Railroad from Dover, N. H., to Alton Bay, N. H., a distance of twenty-eight miles. This road is now extended to Lakeport and called the Lakeport branch. Originally chartered by the New Hampshire Legislature on June 28, 1847, the Cocheco Railroad, as it was at first called, was to have been built from Dover, N. H., to Meredith, in the same State, there to connect with the Boston, Concord and Montreal Railroad. This project, however, never materialized, although the Cocheco road was put under construction in June, 1848, opened from Dover to Farmington, a distance of eighteen miles, on September 21, 1849, and from Farmington to Alton Bay in September, 1851. After a fierce and bitter warfare of several years with the Boston and Maine, due to differences in regard to the amount claimed by each corporation for through passengers and freight, the Cocheco road was reorganized and renamed "Dover and Winnipiseogee Railroad," in April, 1863, and in November of the same year was leased to the Boston and Maine for a rental of \$29,000 a year, and finally absorbed by it on June 30, 1892.

Through its connection with the Winnipiseogee Railroad, the Boston and Maine became interested in steamboats running on Lake Winnipiseogee, or Winnepesaukee, which is the modern way of spelling the name. These were, at first, the "Dover," a wooden side-wheeler, built in 1852, afterwards rebuilt and called the "Chocorua;" she measured about 400 tons, 170 feet long, and 32 feet beam. In 1872, the Boston and Maine had the side-wheel steamboat "Mount Washington" built at Lakeport especially for traffic on the lake. She is 750 tons gross, 180 feet long, 5 1-2 feet draft, and is fitted with a powerful vertical beam engine. As the "Mount Washington" is run only a few months in the summer in fresh water, she is still in active service and bids fair to last many years longer, having been rebuilt in 1914.

Mr. John Howe resigned as president in 1853, and soon after accepted the presidency of the Eastern Railroad. He was succeeded by Mr. James Hayward, who remained in office until 1857, when Mr. Francis Cogswell of Andover became president, continuing in this office until 1863. The directors then elected Mr. Israel M. Spelman of Cambridge as president. Mr. Spelman was a civil engineer by profession, and had originally helped survey a portion of the road.

Early on the morning of November 21, 1862, occurred the second of the three bad accidents that have taken place on the line of the Boston and Maine Railroad. The passenger train from Reading was run into the open draw of the bridge almost at the entrance to the Boston station. It so happened that the train had stopped at the Charlestown station just before going on to the bridge, and, at the time of the accident, was moving at a speed scarcely faster than a man could walk ; and yet the locomotive, the "Bangor," was entirely submerged, as the water at that point was deep. Probably the only thing that saved the train was the fact that the draw was so narrow and the cars so long that the foremost car lodged across the opening, its forward end only being beneath the water. At the rate the train was moving, the resistance thus offered was sufficient to stop it, though, even as it was, no less than six persons lost their lives and a much larger number were more or less injured. Notwithstanding all the precautions imposed by law had been taken, the accident was due to the neglect of the corporation in not having the draw and its system of signals interlocked in such a way that the movement of the one should automatically cause a corresponding movement of the other ; and this neglect in high quarters made it possible for a careless employee to open the draw on a particularly dark and foggy morning, while he forgot at the same time to change his signals.

Probably no railroad was ever so much "investigated," and with so little result, as the Boston and Maine. For example, in 1866 a report was made by a committee consisting of J. E. Bartlett and W. B. Dodge on the man-

agement of the road for the previous ten years. The report begins with these words: "It is proposed in the following pages to examine into the condition and management of the Boston and Maine Railroad for the last ten years, to compare the same in some essential particulars with other first class railroads terminating in Boston, and finally to inquire why it has come to pass that this railroad, which stood at the head of the list ten years ago, should, in all important results, now be found at the bottom." One cannot read the report of 1866 without feeling that not a little of the company's present day embarrassment has come to it by inheritance.

By 1855, as a result of their management of the property, the directors of the Boston and Maine had raised the market price of the stock above that of any of the other seven roads entering Boston. In 1866 the stock held the fourth place and not the first, but worse than this was the fact that its percentage of gain during the ten-year period was much less than that of any other Boston railroad stock. In trying to account for this, the committee brought to light some rather surprising facts. It prepared a table showing the "progress and amount of business that came to the Boston and Maine Railroad through the Manchester and Lawrence Railroad, from the year 1852 to 1856." From this table it appears that the Boston and Maine, in the year 1852, received business from the Manchester and Lawrence to the amount of \$35,996. In 1856 this business amounted to \$80,095, and continued at about that rate until May, 1865, when it suddenly fell off, the result for the eleven months preceding the committee's report being \$26,430. The question immediately arose, "What has become of that northern and western business?" Investigation showed that it had gone to the Boston and Lowell and the Fitchburg Railroads. It must be admitted that the report of the committee in 1866 made a very poor showing for the Boston and Maine management.

Take such a case as the following: "In the matter of ice, the Boston and Maine Railroad excels all other roads terminating in Boston as to the facilities for obtaining an

ice crop, to wit: Ponds in the immediate vicinity of its track, within ten miles of Boston, to the number of four, having a united capacity of seven hundred acres. Amounts of business done in ice from October, 1864, to October, 1865 :—

Whole number of tons,	13,491
Received for its transportation,	\$9,390

“In the same article of ice, the Fitchburg Railroad has the following facilities, to wit: Ponds in the immediate vicinity of its track, within ten miles of Boston, to the number of two, having a united capacity of three hundred acres. Amount of business done in ice from December, 1864, to December, 1865 :—

Whole number of tons,	157,000
Received for its transportation,	\$90,000

Why should the Fitchburg Railroad, with less than one-half the facilities for obtaining an ice crop, do ten times more business than the Boston and Maine Railroad?” The answer was, that the Fitchburg had some *limited* facilities for shipping, the Boston and Maine having *none*.

This is only one of a number of cases which might be cited. The Boston and Maine had no suitable accommodations for ice, coal, lumber, lime, or other bulky, water-borne freight. At the same time the road suffered from inadequate equipment. It was said, in 1866, that no material addition had been made to the rolling stock of the road for the last ten years, and that a vast amount of business had been lost in consequence. But, asked the investigating committee in 1866, “how did it happen that, notwithstanding the meagre business, regular dividends had all along been declared?” The answer was easily found. To make up the deficit occasioned by the loss of business which had been drawn from the Manchester and Lawrence Railroads and from other directions, and in order, as it was claimed, to meet increased expenses incident to the state of the times, particularly during the Civil War, a resort was had to an advance in the rates of freight and passenger fare levied on those who, on ac-

count of their location, would still be obliged to patronize the Boston and Maine. The rates from Boston to Lawrence, for example, were increased fifty per cent. in 1865. The first consequence of this policy was an outburst of indignation and an appeal to the Legislature for relief, which, however, was not readily forthcoming. This aspect of the situation is extremely interesting, showing as it does how sentiment has changed in the last sixty years. Then it seemed a perfectly natural thing for a railroad to increase its rates in order to provide itself with sufficient funds to pay its dividend, and to legislators it seemed a right enough thing for it to do. Times have certainly changed.

The investigating committee of 1866 drew two corollaries from the facts which they discovered. The first was: "No permanent prosperity can be reasonably expected to come from an exorbitant increase in the rates of freight and fare levied on such communities as may seem, from their peculiar relation to the road as to location, to be obliged to submit, but who are quite likely to invent some method of relief or retaliation." The second corollary was: "No railroad can afford to alienate the good will of its best friends." The suggestion which the committee made was that suitable and adequate provision should be made immediately at the Boston end of the line to accommodate and develop the business that legitimately belonged to the road. Other roads, it said, had been ready with the needed facilities, and had reaped their reward. The Boston and Providence, for example, standing at the bottom of the list ten years previously, was in 1866 at the head. The secret of its success was obvious. It made, in season, ample provision for its business. The Boston and Lowell, only twenty-six miles long, although it controlled the Nashua and Lowell to Nashua, forty miles in all, had *thirty acres* of land at the Boston end of its line, and though ten years previously, through "lack of enterprise" on the part of its managers, it appeared to be smitten with premature decay, had since arisen "like a giant from his slumbers," and owing to the energy of its new president, Hon. Francis B. Crown-

inshield, protected itself on every side, and also stood "ready for a foray in any direction which offers a chance for spoils."

Four hundred thousand dollars had been expended for improvements in Boston during the year preceding the report of the investigating committee of 1866. The Fitchburg, with ninety-three miles of road, owned fifteen acres of freight ground in Boston, besides ten acres or more belonging to private parties, below the bridges and on deep water, with which it was connected. The Old Colony, which "fifteen years ago seemed to have neither beginning, middle, or end," had since extended itself three fold, secured twenty acres of land, expended four hundred thousand dollars for that and other improvements at the Boston end of its line; paid more dividends in the aggregate for the ten years preceding 1866 than any other road running out of Boston,—all in great measure, says the report, through the constant "foresight and vigor" of the master at the helm. Contrast all this with what the Boston and Maine had been doing:—

With its 147 miles of road, and only six acres of land at the Boston end of the line, on which are crowded machine shop, engine house, wood-shed, car-house, repair-shop, freight houses, passenger station, etc.; and after an existence of twenty years since it entered Boston on its own tracks, is found today without a single berth at which to lay and discharge a vessel by authority of law,—what has the Boston and Maine done at this vital point to meet the growing demands of business, and to maintain its true position with the living competitors on every side? If a single fourpence-half-penny has been expended for such purposes we would be glad to know when it was done and where it was laid out.

But [continued the committee of 1866], has there ever been any specific suggestion made or plan executed by which the exigency can be met? Most assuredly there has been. More than a dozen years ago the engineer who planned and built the extension into Boston [James Hayward], and who was, at the time referred to, president of the road, testified before a committee of the Massachusetts Legislature, that the freight accommodations of the Boston and Maine were at that early day inadequate to the business of the road; that to make the road what it was intended to be—a first class railroad connecting with navigation on deep water—from

twelve to fifteen acres of wharves and land at the nearest available location about a mile from the present station in Boston were needed. Liberty was obtained to make the improvements. Leave to connect the same with the Boston and Maine Railroad by a branch railroad was also given. Improvements larger in amount than is named above were soon made, and seven years ago the Boston and Maine Railroad was respectfully notified that the wharves were ready for the uses for which they were authorized and created. They answered, they "thought the subject was worth *considering*."

After an interval of seven years, during which, in the opinion of a gentleman whose official duty obliged him carefully to examine the capabilities and the performances of this road, "they lost from half to three-quarters of a million dollars for lack of these facilities"—the improvements having been nearly doubled—twenty-five acres of the best arranged wharves that ever has been or ever can be built in Boston harbor for the accommodation of the business of the Boston and Maine Railroad, . . . the attention of the directors was recently recalled to the subject by a specific proposition by which the Boston and Maine, at the trifling outlay of \$25,000 on their part, might be connected with all these wharves; and they answered, "they considered the subject worth *thinking* about."

It is in no spirit of captious criticism that the above facts are recited. When the whole Boston and Maine situation of today is summed up, the lack of foresight of the management sixty years ago will perhaps play no insignificant part. It has been seen that the Portland, Saco and Portsmouth Railroad was under a joint lease to the Eastern and Boston and Maine companies at six per cent. yearly rental. If a breach of contract should be made by the lessor, it should pay to each of the other roads, lessees, the sum of \$100,000, or in all \$200,000. During and after the Civil War the stockholders of the Portland, Saco and Portsmouth were very much dissatisfied that their dividends were paid in depreciated currency instead of gold, and so in January, 1870, the company decided to break the contract and pay the stipulated penalty. And then began a contest which gave rise to much private and public feeling. It became evident that the control of the Portland, Saco and Portsmouth was essential to any railroad which expected to receive business from northeastern Maine and the British Provinces.

No. 459 **B. & ME. R. ROAD.** Fare \$2.

Good for a passage to any Station on the Portland, Saco and Portsmouth Rail Road, in the Second Train of this day only.

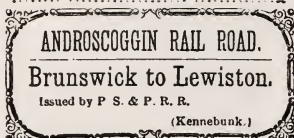
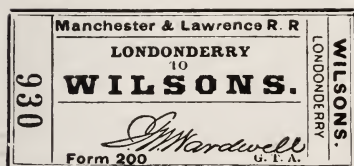
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Noted
Ticket Seller.

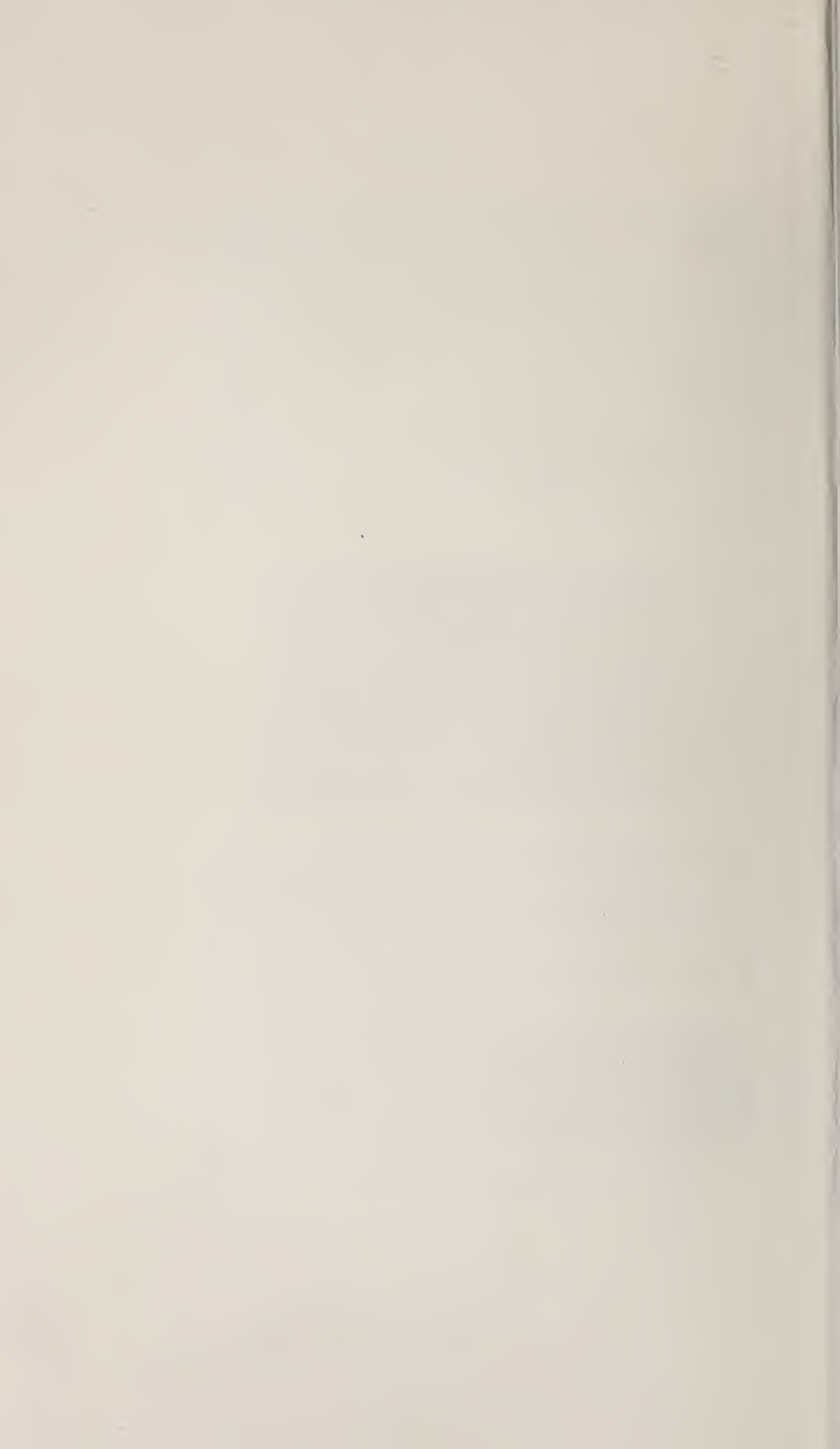
Notice.

Passengers are not allowed to take, nor will these Companies be responsible for Baggage if it exceed FIFTY DOLLARS in value, unless Freight on any addition thereof be paid in advance; and this notice forms a part of all contracts for transportation of passengers and their effects.

CHAS. MINOT, Supt. B. & Me. R. R.



TICKETS IN USE FROM 1840 TO 1870



The Portland, Saco and Portsmouth now put itself into the market to excite competition among the three roads, the Maine Central, the Boston and Maine and the Eastern. Six, eight, and finally ten per cent. was offered. At length the Eastern Railroad also offered ten per cent., and the new contract in perpetuity was awarded to it, largely because the people then in control of the Portland, Saco and Portsmouth road happened to be more interested pecuniarily in the Eastern than in its competitor, the Boston and Maine. As soon as the Eastern became the sole lessor of the Portland, Saco and Portsmouth, it refused to take on the Boston and Maine trains at South Berwick Junction, as always had been done in the past, and haul it to Portland as part of its own train. The conductors of the Eastern trains were instructed: "On your arrival at South Berwick Junction you will connect with the Boston and Maine cars, but if latter are not in sight or whistle heard, you will proceed immediately to Portland without waiting." Heretofore the rule had been to wait one hour if the train were delayed. Very naturally, on occasions, the Boston and Maine train was late, and then the passengers would be dumped out at South Berwick, a most uninteresting spot in which to waste time.

This condition of affairs precipitated a most serious situation for the Boston and Maine, or, as its management expressed it in the annual report:—

The termination of this contract [the Portland, Saco and Portsmouth lease] left us with a road 74 miles in length, terminating in the woods in the town of South Berwick. Unable to make any arrangement, whether for the joint use with the Eastern Railroad of the road from that point to Portland; or for the separate use of the same, by lease, contract, or otherwise, application was made to the Legislature of the State of Maine for authority to extend this road from South Berwick to Portland.

The act authorizing this extension, 41 miles in length, was approved February 17, 1871. Work was begun on it in the autumn of the same year, and the road opened to travel on March 17, 1873. A young newspaper reporter was the sole representative of the press on the first train of the Boston and Maine to run through to

Portland on its own line. He went in company with Mr. James T. Furber, who at that time had just become the operating head of the Boston and Maine. Mr. Furber had a sturdy and vigorous personality, and later as general manager of the Boston and Maine through its first stages of expansion, did so much to lift it on to a broader plane. No notice had been given that the operation of the new extension was to begin that day. When South Berwick Junction was reached the Eastern train had not yet arrived, and no intimation had been received by the Eastern people that they were not to connect as usual with the Boston and Maine train. The then young newspaper man says he well remembers Mr. Furber's triumphant laugh as he gave orders for the train to keep on and leave the Eastern to itself then and forever after. He then accompanied Mr. Furber to the locomotive and rode there with him the rest of the way to Portland. The extension was built at the cost of several millions of dollars, and it is said the expense was at least thirty per cent. above what it would have been had good judgment been used. Land damages, the road-bed and the masonry were unduly expensive from the extreme haste which characterized the precipitate undertaking. The new entrance into the city of Portland also entailed a vast expenditure, a high bluff of clay and rock having to be penetrated and streets bridged. For terminal purposes the old Walker House on Commercial street was purchased and remodelled into a passenger station and used as such until the present Union station was built in 1889.

Mr. William Merritt resigned as superintendent in February, 1873, he having met the year before with a severe fall, from the effects of which he never recovered. The directors elected Mr. James Furber, the station agent at Rochester, N. H., to take his place, and at the same time appointed Mr. Merritt's son, William, Jr., assistant superintendent. In 1869, the capital of the Boston and Maine was increased from \$4,155,000 to \$4,550,000, entitling each holder of ten shares to one new one at par; in 1871 the capital stock was again increased to \$5,000,000, and the next year to \$7,000,000. No sooner had the "extension" been opened to Portland than the company

found themselves once more "pocketed," so to speak, by the Eastern Railroad, for that corporation, by the purchase of 15,274 shares of stock of the Maine Central Railroad, at a cost of \$1,220,538, far above the market value, obtained the control of the latter road. At this time the Boston and Maine could not sell a ticket below Portland, nor would the Maine Central haul any of their passenger cars. Between Boston and Portland a competition more furious than ever was maintained between the two rival railroads; in fact, the war of rates was estimated to have cost the Eastern road alone \$10,000 to \$12,000 per month.¹ Finally, in November, 1874, an arrangement was entered into between the Eastern and Boston and Maine which in a measure stopped the ruinous competition, but the relations between the two roads were never very friendly.

The Boston and Maine also found an outlet at Portland by connecting with the tracks of the Grand Trunk Railway. This was accomplished in September, 1874, and at the same time the change of gauge for the whole distance between Detroit and Portland was fully consummated, so that both passenger and freight cars were enabled to run from Boston to San Francisco. This connection secured to the Boston and Maine much better facilities in the transportation of passengers and freight from points on their road to points on the Grand Trunk and beyond. The construction in Maine of the Lewiston and Auburn Railroad, five miles long, connecting with the Grand Trunk, opened to the Boston and Maine the cities of Lewiston and Auburn, and beginning in September, 1874, their passenger cars ran through between Boston and Lewiston without change. Another valuable acquisition made by the company was the purchase of Smith's wharf on Commercial street, Portland, "by means of which we were enabled to place our cars within the yards of the largest lumber dealers in Portland, and within the means of close connection with steamers for Halifax, St. John, Bangor, Mt. Desert, etc."²

¹The 41st Annual Report, Eastern R. R. Co.

²Annual Report, Boston and Maine R. R., 1874.

The Lowell and Andover Railroad, now known as the Lowell branch, from Lowell Junction, on the main road of the Boston and Maine, to Lowell, a distance of eight and one-half miles, was placed under construction during 1874, and opened for business on December 1, 1875. Before its completion it had been leased to the Boston and Maine, and as it opened a new route between Boston and Lowell, it immediately brought that company into collision with the Boston and Lowell Railroad. The want of deep-water terminals in Boston, previously mentioned, had been partially met by the construction of a wharf 1,200 feet long on the southerly side of the Mystic river in Somerville, authority having been previously obtained from the Massachusetts Legislature of 1873.

In 1876 came the notable "race" between the Eastern and Boston and Maine, the following interesting account of which is derived from an article by Winfield S. Nevins, at that time Salem correspondent of the *Boston Herald*, and published in the *Salem Evening News*, February 9, 1917:—

At that time the Maine Central Boston trains ran out over the water at Portland to Cape Elizabeth and then back into the Portland station over the Eastern or P. S. and P. tracks. The Boston passengers for the Boston and Maine road were transferred at the transfer station not far from where the present Union station is located, the station of the Boston and Maine being on Commercial street directly opposite the Eastern and Maine Central union station of those days. When this race began on Monday, the first train of the week from Portland, old "64," now "40," came from Bangor in charge of conductor "Gus" Lincoln, a veteran of the Maine Central. [From 1873 to 1877 the Eastern and Maine Central train crews alternated in running through from Boston to Bangor—245 miles.] The Eastern won by eleven minutes, having more cars and less mileage. . . . It was 114 miles to Boston over the Boston and Maine and 109 over the Eastern. On Tuesday the Eastern won out by a few minutes. Everybody waited for Wednesday, when that old veteran, "Dan" Sanborn, should bring the train from Bangor to Boston.

Over the Maine Central trains had to make regular time, but when they reached the tracks of the Eastern and Boston and Maine all semblance of "Time" was banished. "Dan" Sanborn had for engineer one of the best men who pulled a throttle in this or any

other country at that time—"Bill" Johnson. As quickly as Johnson's locomotive could be coupled on to the train . . . he struck for Boston. Sanborn and Johnson constituted about the best "team" that ever attempted to handle a train. I well remember when they came out of Salem tunnel and into the station with old "64" that afternoon . . . it was some fifteen minutes ahead of scheduled time. The old locomotive fairly roared and raged as it came tearing across Norman street. It pulled down, the mail was dumped off and taken on; no baggage was taken and no wait was made for passengers. Sanborn swung his arm to go ahead, grabbed the writer of this article and pushed him up the step, and away we went for Boston. In Lynn the same thing was done—leave and take mail, while passengers looked on with wonder and perhaps anger, to be left on the platform. Then off for Boston. "Mile a minute time" was rare on New England railways then, but we made it. Sanborn and the writer stood looking out of the rear door of the rear car watching for the Boston and Maine as the train made that curve just this side of Somerville station. Today, at thirty miles an hour, it will throw a man down if he is not prepared. We were prepared that afternoon, but we lurched over almost in a heap, and both thought the car had gone off the rails. It had not, and on we rushed across everything on into Boston. "Deadhead" stops had to be made at the Boston and Maine crossing in Somerville and at the Fitchburg crossing in Charlestown. We made the first one fully, but the wheels did not cease entirely to roll before we went over the Fitchburg, arriving at 5.04 P. M.

The writer jumped off the train and ran for the Boston and Maine station in Haymarket Square, which he reached before their train arrived at 5.08½, just in time to inform my old friend, "Jim" Furber, superintendent of the road, that I had come in on the "64," and to greet my friends of the Boston and Maine on the train.

The Boston and Maine was much chagrined over this defeat. I wrote an account of it for the *Boston Herald*, with which I was then connected, and for the *Bangor Whig and Courier*. The Boston and Maine officials sought to break its force by denying that there was any "race," but they were met with indisputable facts. They did not attempt to deny the statements of the *Herald*, because all Boston knew them to be true. There was no real effort on the part of either road after Wednesday to do any serious "racing." The Eastern won the "race." Now the Eastern lies down with the Boston and Maine, like the lamb that laid down with the lion. It is interesting to note that the running time of the Eastern train that day, under those conditions, was three hours and twenty-six minutes, the train consisting of seven cars, one Pullman only, if

any. The Boston and Maine had five cars and made sixteen stops, and its running time was three hours and thirty-eight minutes. Today [1917] the Eastern division train makes the run in three hours and fifteen minutes, with ten or twelve cars of much heavier build. The "express" to Portland left Boston at 8.45 A. M. and reached there at 1 P. M., or in four and a quarter hours. On the occasion of this race the run from Lynn to Boston in twenty minutes was chronicled as something phenomenal.

The locomotives used were the "Atlantic" on the Eastern train and the "North Star" on the Boston and Maine road. A former official of the Boston and Maine in service at the time of the above occurrence has informed the writer that there really was no race at all. The whole thing, in his opinion, was gotten up for advertising purposes by George Bachelder, then superintendent of the Eastern Railroad. A special telegraph message was even sent to the conductor and engineer of the Boston and Maine train not to depart from their running time under any circumstances whatever. Since the foregoing was written, it has also been learned that another and apparently more realistic race took place between the Eastern and Boston and Maine roads in 1857 or 1858, when it was actually a question of the United States mail contract. As every one who took part in this first trial of speed is dead, very little can be found out concerning it except that the Eastern train won and the two locomotives used were the "City of Lynn" on the latter road and the "Massachusetts" on the Boston and Maine. The mere fact of there having been two races has greatly confused the matter, and it has been only with the greatest difficulty that any information has been obtained.

In the meantime, in 1872, a branch known as the West Amesbury Branch Railroad had been built from the main line of the Boston and Maine at Newton Junction to Merrimack, Mass., a distance of four and one-half miles. It was leased to the Boston and Maine on January 9, 1873. At one time it was contemplated to extend this line to Amesbury and thus compete with the Eastern Railroad, but the lease of the latter corporation to the Boston and Maine put an end to the scheme. Of late years service on this and on many other of the Boston and Maine branches has been practically abandoned, due partly to the competition of the electric street railways,

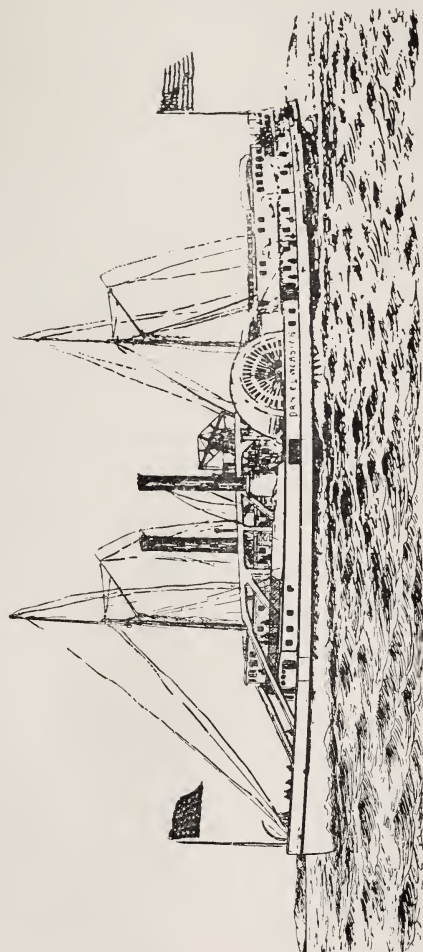
but also in large measure to the absolutely demoralized condition of the whole Boston and Maine system. Trains, passenger and freight, were taken off when this country entered the European struggle, with the distinct understanding that they would be replaced at the close of the war. This has not been done, and a deep feeling of hostility against the road has been aroused in many localities through which it passes and which it will take a long time to overcome.

Not many of the present generation realize that the splendid system of time under which the railroads of the United States are now operated was not always the same. But such is the fact, and not until 1883, when the first time convention was called, was there any relief in sight for the time tangle. The duty of this time convention was to work out a system of time that would do away with the crude and confusing system then in effect. The convention met and the result was the establishment of what is now known as standard time. Besides clearing up the time situation, the convention formed a permanent organization which is called the American Railway Association. It is this organization which has given us standard rules and has done much to bring about safe practice in train operation. Before standard time was adopted there were more than fifty standards of time in use by the railroads for train operation throughout the United States, and the chaos that existed, where a matter of connections was concerned, can well be imagined. A traveller who had to journey over three or four railroads was unable to count on connections with any certainty. Even on the same road it was unusual to have the same kind of time on any two districts. Passengers were subjected to further inconvenience and confusion by frequent time changes, especially by the smaller roads, and to make matters still worse, few conductors could tell the kind of time in use on connecting lines. Under the present system there are four different times used in the United States, with the exception that the Canadian Pacific Railway uses Atlantic time on its lines east of Vanceboro, Maine. All the standards of time are an even hour apart, with an elastic boundary line between the hour sections, the exact point at which a road shall change time being specified. The

four principal times are based upon the 75th, 90th, 105th and 120th meridians, and for purposes of designation they are called Eastern, Central, Mountain and Pacific time respectively.

Prior to 1883, some lines were so situated that it required six or seven kinds of time for trains to get over the road on, and so complex had the situation become that very few operating officials could state the time that was used upon any road except their own, and, in some cases, its immediate connections. As had been previously arranged, the change to standard time was made on a Sunday in November, 1883. When the hour of noon arrived the bells of St. Paul's Chapel, New York, tolled the hour of local time, and just four minutes afterward the Western Union time-ball fell and Trinity's chimes rang out the new standard hour, in accordance with an electric signal from the Naval Observatory at Washington City. This splendid arrangement of time was planned by Mr. W. F. Allen, secretary of the American Railway Association. It marked a new era in railroad operation. In the old days on the Boston and Maine the regulating clock in the Boston station was the standard time for all parts of that road, and the rule regarding regulation of watches, etc., taken from time-table No. 96, to take effect May 2, 1870, was as follows: "Conductors and engineers must daily set their watches by the regulating clock in the Boston station, which is the standard of time for the clocks at the stations and the watches of all men employed on the road. It is made the duty of the oldest freight conductor to see that all the clocks of the way stations east of Reading conform to the standard. The Reading passenger train conductor will regulate the clocks from Reading to Boston, and the Medford conductor the clocks of the Medford branch." The old Eastern Railroad, on the other hand, while requesting their conductors and engineers to "compare time daily" ordered that all clocks and all the watches of the employees must be regulated according to "Willard's time." Willard was for many years a well-known watchmaker, and his father invented the celebrated clock bearing his name.

(To be continued.)



STEAMBOAT "DANIEL WEBSTER," BUILT IN 1853



THE TRACY FAMILY OF NEWBURYPORT.

BY THOMAS AMORY LEE.

The Tracys of Newburyport were a leading family of that thriving seaport town during the last fifty years of the province, and perhaps there was none more prominent. This family so far as known, is not in any way related to the Tracy family descended from Lieut. Thomas Tracy of Connecticut, but from Captain Patrick Tracy and Captain Nicholas Tracy, who came to Massachusetts from Ireland between 1720 and 1740. These two men were certainly closely related and were perhaps brothers, though it seems more probable that Captain Patrick was an uncle, on account of the difference in ages. In the male line the family is extinct; but it has been perpetuated in the Eustis, Cabot, Jackson, Lee, Holmes, Lowell, Higginson, Paine, Storrow, Morse, Putnam, and other leading families of Boston to-day.

1. CAPTAIN PATRICK TRACY, ESQ., was born about 1711, probably in County Wexford, Ireland, and died in Newburyport, Feb. 28, 1789, aged 78 years. He was married, first, Jan. 25, 1742-3, by Rev. John Lowell of Newbury, to Hannah Carter of Hampton, N. H., who died March 27, 1746, aged 28 years. He married, second, July 25, 1749, Hannah Gookin, daughter of Rev. Nathaniel Gookin, Jr., A. M., and Dorothy (Cotton) Gookin, of Hampton, N. H., who died Aug. 20, 1756, aged 33 years. She was a great-granddaughter of Major General Daniel Gookin and of the famous Rev. John Cotton, and a second cousin of Dorothy Quincy. He married, third, Mar. 25, 1773, Mary, daughter of Tristram Little, widow of Captain Michael Dalton, Esq., and mother of United States Senator Tristram Dalton. She died Dec. 10, 1791, aged 78 years. Captain Tracy came to New England as a young lad, his guardian, according to family tradition, having stolen his estate. He made frequent voyages to the West Indies, became a competent, skillful navigator, a master mariner and shipowner, an importing and exporting merchant of high standing and much wealth. He was vestryman of

St. Paul's Church, Newburyport, 1743-1748, subscribed to the fund in 1743, and was assigned two pews, Nos. 35 and 49. He was appointed justice of the peace, Dec. 31, 1772. In 1764, he gave books and money to Harvard College to repair the damage done by the fire. On June 10, 1763, he signed the petition to set off Newburyport from Newbury. On Jan. 29, 1774, with Nicholas and Robert Tracy, he petitioned the selectmen to send delegates to the Continental Congress at Philadelphia, and to appoint a committee to prepare instructions for such delegates; he was later appointed a member of that committee. On Sept. 23, 1774, he was the second member of the Committee of Safety, and Captain Nicholas Tracy, the last. He gave of his time and means to support the Revolution, and was part owner of many privateers. "In commercial as well as in mercantile affairs, Captain Tracy was eminently successful, and maintained to the close of a long life the character of an honorable and upright man."¹ A handsome portrait of Captain Tracy, by an unknown artist, perhaps Mather Brown, now belongs to Captain Patrick Tracy Jackson, 3d, of Boston, and a portrait of Captain Tracy by Blackburn, also one of Mrs. Tracy, by Greenwood, are owned by Mrs. Frederick C. Shattuck of Boston. A memoir of Captain Tracy has been written by Russell Leigh Jackson.

His estate² was valued at £3,739. 1s. 9 1-2d., and included four mansion houses, 212 ounces of silver plate, 18 framed pictures, 3 "family pictures", i. e., portraits, books, etc. The will was very carefully drawn by Hon. Theophilus Parsons, who was named executor. Captain P. T. Jackson now has his mourning rings. Bequests were made of mourning rings to his wife, son Jonathan Jackson, sons Nathaniel and Jonathan Tracy, and to each of their wives, and one to Mrs. Elizabeth Burt, with the picture of her mother, Madame Kent, now hanging in my house, all his wearing apparel to his two sons, and plate to daughter Hannah Jackson; one house to his

¹"Ould Newbury", by John J. Currier, pp. 545-569, and History of Newburyport, vol. 2, pp. 216-221.

²Essex County Probate, No. 27,971.

grandchildren, Robert, Henry, Charles, Hannah, James, Sarah, Patrick Tracy, Harriet and Mary Jackson, children of daughter Hannah; one house to grandchildren Henry Laughton, Nathaniel, Margaret, Mary, Henrietta and John Tracy, all children of son John Tracy; one house to grandchildren Hannah, Patrick, Jeremiah Lee, Mary and Louisa Tracy, all children of son Nathaniel; and to his faithful black man Apropos \$6 a year and the right to dwell in the house where he now does.

Children, born in Newburyport, by his first wife:—

HANNAH, b. Oct. 20, 1748; d. July 2, 1744.

VINCENT, b. May 4, 1745; d. July 7, 1745.

Children, born in Newburyport, by his second wife:—

3. NATHANIEL, b. Aug. 11, 1751; bur. Sept. 21, 1796.

4. JOHN, b. Apr. 19, 1753; d. Mar. 1, 1815.

HANNAH, b. Apr. 26, 1755; d. Apr. 28, 1797, in Boston; m. in Newburyport, 1772, Col. Jonathan Jackson, Esq., b. in Boston, June 4, 1743, d. March, 1810, in Boston (Harvard, 1761), s. of Edward and Dorothy (Quincy) Jackson of Boston, m. (1), Jan. 3, 1767, at Salem, Sarah, dau. of Rev. Thomas and Mary (Woodbridge) Barnard, b. Jan. 31, 1741-2, d. June 22, 1770; m. (2), Hanna Gookin. He was an eminent merchant of the firm of Jackson, Tracy & Tracy. He was a representative and senator to the General Court, member of the Committee of Public Safety, of the Provincial Congress, of the Continental Congress, 1781-1782, U. S. Marshal for the District of Massachusetts, a commissioner to take the census, 1790, inspector of internal revenue, 1791; vestryman of St. Paul's, 1794, 1795, supervisor of the revenue, 1796, Treasurer of the Commonwealth for five years, Treasurer of Harvard College, and President of the Boston Bank, 1803-1810. He was a most accomplished gentleman, a leader of society, and a man of the most unblemished honor. He was, with Hon. Nathaniel Tracy, one of the founders of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. His portrait was painted five times by Copley, the five being owned by his descendants, Justice O. W. Holmes of the U. S. Supreme Court, estate of Col. Harry Lee of Boston, Mrs. James Jackson of Boston, Mrs. Charles Upham of Salem, and Miss Susan Cabot Jackson of Boston. Mrs. James Jackson also owns the Copley of Hannah Tracy,

wife of Hon. Jonathan Jackson. Children of Col. Jonathan and Hannah (Tracy) Jackson were: (1) Robert, b. Mar. 4, 1773, d. 1800. (2) Capt. Henry, b. Jan. 12, 1774, d. 1806, m. 1799, Hannah Swett, sister of Dr. John B. Swett, A. B. (H. C.), 1767. John B. Swett Jackson, M. D., Henry Jackson, A. B. (H. C.), M. D., and Robert Tracy Jackson, B. S., Sc. D. (H. C.) of Boston, are descendants. (3) Hon. Charles, LL. D., b. May 31, 1775, d. Dec. 13, 1885, A. B. (H. C.), Justice of the Supreme Judicial Court of Mass. and leading real estate lawyer of Boston, m. (1) Amelia Lee, dau. of Joseph Lee, m. (2) Fanny, dau. of John Cabot. Among descendants are Gen. Charles Jackson Paine, A. B. (H. C.), Hon. Robert Treat Paine, A. B. (H. C.), John Torrey Morse, Jr., Litt. D. A. B. (H. C.), and Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., LL. D., A. B. (H. C.), Justice of the U. S. Supreme Court. (4) Hannah, b. July 2, 1776, d. May 10, 1815, m. Oct. 31, 1798, Francis Cabot Lowell, A. B. (H. C.), s. Hon. John Lowell, LL. D. Among descendants are Hon. John Lowell, Jr., founder of the Lowell Institute, Judge John Lowell, LL. D., and Judge Francis Cabot Lowell, LL. D. (5) Dr. James, LL. D., b. Oct. 2, 1777, d. 1867, A. B. (H. C.), m. (1) Oct. 3, 1801, Elizabeth Cabot, niece of U. S. Senator George Cabot. He m. (2), 1818, her sister, Susan Cabot. He was the leading physician of Boston for years. Among descendants are, Dr. Charles Pickering Putnam, A. B. (H. C.), and Dr. James Jackson Putnam, A. B. (H. C.), James Jackson Storrow, A. B. (H. C.), of Lee, Higginson & Co., Charles Cabot Jackson, A. B. (H. C.), broker, James Jackson Minot, A. B. (H. C.) (6) Sarah, b. June 26, 1779, m. Capt. John S. Gardner, Esq., a wealthy merchant. (7) Patrick Tracy, b. Aug. 14, 1780, d. Sept. 12, 1847, distinguished merchant, and one of the two founders of Lowell, Mass. He m. Lydia Cabot. Among descendants are, Gen. Charles Russell Lowell, Jr., A. B. (H. C.), brilliant cavalry officer of the Civil War; Dr. Arthur Tracy Cabot, A. B. (H. C.), one of the leading medical men of his generation; Prof. Charles Loring Jackson, A. B. (H. C.), the chemist; Patrick Tracy Jackson, Jr., Capt. Patrick J. T. Jackson, 3d, and Patrick T. Jackson, 4th, all graduates of Harvard and all manufacturers. (8) Harriet, b. Jan. 2, 1782, d. 1849. (9) Mary, b. Oct. 3, 1783, d. June 1, 1860, m. June 16, 1809, Henry Lee, Sr., s. of Joseph Lee, the well known Boston merchant and economist. Among descendants are, Col. Harry Lee, Jr.,

A. B. (H. C.), of Lee, Higginson & Co.; Major Henry Lee Higginson, LL. D., A. B. (H. C.), officer of the Civil War, head of Lee, Higginson & Co., and founder of the Boston Symphony Orchestra; Joseph Lee, A. B. (H. C.), the well known social worker; Henry Lee Morse, A. B. (H. C.), the physician; Matthew Hale, Jr., A. B. (H. C.)

2. "CAPT. NICHOLAS TRACY, Gentleman," son of Robert Tracy of County Wexford, Ireland, farmer, was born probably about 1726, and died in Newburyport, May 23, 1787; he married Merriam, daughter of Col. Moses Titcomb of Newburyport, who was born Feb. 20, 1732-3, and died Oct. 28, 1810. Robert Tracy of Killcarberry, Wexford, Ireland, farmer, died between December, 1767, and Feb. 22, 1768, when his will³ was probated. He therein leaves one shilling each to sons Matthew, John, James, and to daughters Katherine Devereux, otherwise Tracy, wife of Thomas Devereux, and Mary Tracy, otherwise Nevil, wife of John Nevil; to youngest son, Martin Tracy, one-fourth part of thirty-two acres in Killcarberry, corn housed; under the management of Henry Tracy of the Ring of St. John in said county, and Matthew Tracy of Rotholm, barony of Forth, in said county, farmers, they to be executors. Apparently his wife died before 1767. Her name is unknown. Captain Tracy came to Newburyport at a very early age, and was a mariner. In due course he became a master mariner, and made profitable voyages to the West Indies and Europe. He presently became an importing merchant, and owned the Upper Long Wharf, with its warehouses, etc. His mansion house was on the northwest corner of State and High streets. He was in the Alarm List of the foot company in Newbury, of which Joseph Coffin was captain, July 13, 1757. In 1774 he signed a petition to the selectmen to send delegates to the old Continental Congress of September, 1774. On June 15, 1774, he was on the committee to correspond with the Committee of Safety of Boston, and was a member of the Committee of Safety.

³Mr. William Tracy Eustis procured a copy of this will. I am greatly indebted to his son, J. Tracy Eustis, Esq., for permission to use this copy.

His will,⁴ dated Jan. 17, 1787, was proved June 13, 1787. He bequeathed to his wife Merriam one-third of the dwelling house on the northwest side of the head of Fifth street for life, and two-thirds for widowhood, also one-third of all other real estate to son Robert, the house on the northwest side of Queen street for life; and all the residue of real estate and personal estate in remainder and reversion to son Nicholas, but if he die under 21, then to my brothers Matthew Tracy and John Tracy and my sister Catherine Devereux, all of the Kingdom of Ireland. (This will proves Captain Nicholas to have been a son of Robert.) His wife, Captain Joseph Noyes, mariner, and Samuel Tufts, merchant, are named as executors. The seal has an impression, but it cannot be seen whether it is of the Tracy coat-of-arms which Captain Patrick Tracy used. His estate was valued at over £9,700, including the mansion house, store, two dwelling houses, and eighteen and one-half rights in Queen Wharf, a silver watch, plate and glass, a wall pew in Rev. Mr. Cary's meeting house, money in hand £1,852, 19. 5 3-4, 37 notes against John Tracy, Nathaniel Tracy, James Tracy, Nicholas Pike, etc.

His widow Miriam was appointed guardian⁵ of their son, Nicholas Tracy, a minor over 14 years, on Aug. 27, 1787, Joseph Noyes, mariner, and Andrew Frothingham, merchant, being her sureties. Her estate⁶ was valued at \$5,578.21.

Children, all born in Newburyport:—

5. ROBERT, b. Aug. 2, 1752; d. s. p., Dec. 16, 1804.

ELIZABETH, b. Jan. 13, 1771; d. Dec. 20, 1772.

6. NICHOLAS, b. July 24, 1773; d. July 26, 1811.

3. HON. NATHANIEL TRACY,⁷ son of Captain Patrick and Hannah (Gookin) Tracy, was born in Newburyport, Aug. 11, 1751, and was buried there Sept. 21, 1796. He

⁴Essex County Probate, No. 27,968.

⁵Essex County Probate, No. 27,969.

⁶Essex County Probate, No. 27,964.

⁷See Harvard Graduates' Magazine, vol. 25, p. 193; The Paine family, 1914; Jones' "Under Colonial Rooftrees," pp. 77-80; Hunt's "Merchants Magazine," vol. 2, p. 517.

graduated from the Boston Public Latin School in 1760; from Harvard, A. B., in the class of 1769; took his A. M. there in due course; is said to have taken a post-graduate course at Yale, and then travelled abroad. He married, February 28, 1775, "the greatest beauty of her day," Mary Lee, the sister of his classmate, Captain Joseph Lee, of the Revolution, and the daughter of the patriot, Col. Jeremiah Lee, of Marblehead. Colonel Lee was a member of the famous Province Committee of Safety and Supplies, with Adams and Hancock, chairman of the Essex County Congress, 1774, a delegate to the Massachusetts Provincial Congress, and elected to the first Continental Congress by the town of Marblehead, as its delegate.

At once upon their marriage, Captain Tracy built for his son a beautiful brick mansion on State street, Newburyport, and there Nathaniel Tracy and his bride made their home. This mansion is now the city library of Newburyport, and in it Stuart's portrait of Nathaniel Tracy hangs, having been presented to the town by Tracy's grandson, General William Raymond Lee, of Boston. Shortly before the Revolution, Tracy went into partnership with his brother, Colonel John Tracy, Harvard, 1771, and his brother-in-law, Hon. Jonathan Jackson, Harvard, 1761, the ancestor of the present Boston family of that name. Their firm became very prominent, and as soon as the Revolution broke out, Tracy and his partners determined to support vigorously the patriotic cause.

He fitted out the first privateer of the Revolution, the *Yankce Hero*, and this vessel gained many prizes. During the next eight years Tracy was the principal owner of one hundred and ten merchant vessels, having a gross tonnage of 15,660 tons. These vessels, with their cargoes, were valued at \$2,733,300. Twenty-three of these were letters of marque, and carried 298 carriage-guns and 1,618 men. Of this large fleet but thirteen were left at the end of the war. The others were either lost or captured. During this period he was also the principal owner of twenty-four cruising ships, with a gross capacity of 6,330 tons, carrying 340 guns,—6, 9 and 12 pounders,

and 2,800 men. Of these twenty-four ships but one remained in 1783. The services which these vessels rendered to the government in bringing in stores of ammunition and supplies intended for the British army were inestimable. During the war Tracy's cruisers and privateers captured 120 vessels, aggregating 23,360 tons, with 2,225 men. These vessels, with their cargoes, were sold for the large sum of \$3,950,000 in specie. Nor was this the only service Tracy rendered to the country; for, during these trying times, he loaned the government more than \$167,000, besides providing much assistance in the matter of clothing and other necessities.

At this time Tracy might well say that he could travel from Newburyport to Philadelphia and sleep in his own house every night. As it was a matter of a week's journey at that time, we may judge somewhat of the extent of his possessions. He owned the Vassall house in Cambridge, now owned by the Longfellow family; he had a farm in Medford, said to have been "Ten Hills Farm"; he had large properties in Connecticut; and, with his superb mansion in Newburyport, the Spencer-Pierce farm in Newbury, with the stone house, and other lands and houses in different places, he was enabled to live in the most luxurious manner. He had the finest horses and coaches, and possessed a well-selected library. His cellars were stocked "with the choicest wines, his horses and carriages were the best that money could buy, and the appointments at the table were rich and sumptuous." At his home in Cambridge, now known as the Longfellow House, he entertained many distinguished guests, and in the brick house on State street, Newburyport, he was often honored by visits of officers prominent in public life. In 1788, Brissot de Warville visited Tracy at Newburyport, and a description of Tracy and his household is found on pages 254 and 255 of his "Notes of Travel in the U. S.":

We dined at Newbury with Mr. Tracy, who formerly enjoyed a great fortune, and has since been reduced by the failure of different enterprises, particularly by a contract to furnish masts for the marine of France. The miscarriage of this undertaking was owing

to his having employed agents in procuring the first cargo, who deceived him and sent a parcel of refuse masts that were fit only for firewood. Though the manner in which Mr. Tracy had been deceived was sufficiently proved, yet, for the clerks of the marine at Versailles, whose interest it was to decry the American timber, this fact was sufficient to enable them to cause it to be ever after rejected. And Mr. Tracy's first cargo was condemned and sold at Havre for 250 l. He lives retired; and, with the consolation of his respectable wife, supports his misfortunes with dignity and firmness.

In 1784, Tracy went to Europe on his ship "*Cerus*," endeavoring to bring about a satisfactory settlement of his business affairs. Thomas Jefferson, who had been named Minister Plenipotentiary to Great Britain with Mr. Adams and Dr. Franklin, with Jefferson's two daughters, was Tracy's guest upon this voyage, they being intimate friends. Tracy went on to Portugal, in hopes of obtaining a satisfactory settlement of his accounts with Guar-doqui, but in this he was disappointed. He remained in Europe several months, but at length was compelled to return home, broken-hearted and discouraged. Two years later he found himself hopelessly involved in financial difficulties, and with the close of the war his wealth vanished like smoke. His vessels were captured, his varied enterprises met with disaster instead of success, and in 1786 he found himself bankrupt, owing large sums which he could not pay. His splendid estates were sold for a small portion of their value, and he retired from active business pursuits. With his wife and children, he lived in comparative quiet and seclusion for the remainder of his days in the old stone mansion on the Spencer-Pierce farm in Newbury, which was secured to his family by his father, Captain Tracy. He was so loved and respected by his fellow-townsmen, many of whom were his creditors, that he was not pressed by claims for money due.

John Quincy Adams, who was at that time a student at law in the office of Theophilus Parsons in Newburyport, gives a good description of Tracy and his family in his diary for the years 1788-89. While at his home in Cambridge, Tracy gave a celebrated frog dinner to officers of

the French fleet, which was then in Boston harbor. This dinner is described by Andrews in his "Letters," and is worth reading.

Tracy was the first treasurer of Dummer Academy, was a selectman of his town, a deputy to the General Court in 1780, 1781 and 1782, a State Senator in 1783, a delegate to the United States Constitutional Convention, and a charter member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. He also made at least one contribution to the records of the Massachusetts Historical Society in its early days. In 1773, he was given the honorary degree of A. M. by the College of New Jersey, now Princeton University. His portrait was painted three times, once by Stuart,⁸ once by Trumbull, now owned by his great-granddaughter, Mrs. Elizabeth Amory Lee Ernst, the daughter of General Lee, and the wife of Gen. O. H. Ernst, of Washington; and once by Miss Hills. His miniature and that of his wife are owned by Mrs. Ernst and Mrs. Elizabeth Lee Ernst Grinnell.

Children, born in Newburyport:—

HANNAH, b. Jan. 25, 1776; d. in Boston, Sept. 14, 1823; m. May 21, 1801, Lieut. William Raymond Lee, her second cousin, b. Aug. 19, 1774, d. Sept. 7, 1861, in Boston, s. of Col. William Raymond Lee, of the Revolution, who was a nephew of Col. Jeremiah Lee, the father of Nathaniel Tracy's wife. Child, b. in Salem: (1) Gen. William Raymond Lee, U. S. V., A. M., colonel of the Harvard Regiment during the Civil War, given an honorary degree by Harvard, 1851, and Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. He was b. Aug. 15, 1807; d. in Boston, Dec. 26, 1891; m. in Boston, Helen Mara Amory, dau. Thomas Amory, Esq., b. 1810, d. 1893. Lieut. A. Tracy Lee, U. S. A., was a son.

MARTHA LEE, b. July 6, 1777; d. Nov. 10, 1778.

PATRICK, bp. by Rev. Thomas Cary, Feb. 27, 1780; living 1791; d. unm., before 1819.

NATHANIEL, bp. June 27, 1781; d. before 1788.

LIEUT. JEREMIAH LEE, U. S. V., bapt. Dec. 21, 1782; d. Jan. 16, 1844, unmarried. An able and skillful artillery officer of the War of 1812.

⁸The authenticity of this has not been fully established. It has been attributed also to Copley and to Mather Brown.

MARY, b. in the Longfellow House, Cambridge, Feb. 25, 1786; d. in Newburyport, Dec. 23, 1809, unmarried.

LOUISA LEE, b. in the Longfellow House, Apr. 25, 1787; d. May 15, 1869, in Newburyport, unmarried.

NATHANIEL, b. Nov. 25, 1788; d. before 1790.

7. NATHANIEL, b. Mar. 18, 1790.

MARTHA ABBY LEE, b. Sept. 27, 1791; d. before 1819.

HELEN, b. Jan. 22, 1796; d. unmarried, in Newburyport, Nov. 10, 1865; was one of the incorporators, Oct., 1857, of the Newburyport Ladies' Bethel Society. Included in her inventory⁹ were the family silver, jewelry, books, the Jackson picture, three miniatures, and two Copleys.

4. COL. JOHN TRACY, son of Captain Patrick and Hannah (Gookin) Tracy, was born in Newburyport, April 19, 1753, and died there Mar. 1, 1815. He was graduated from Harvard College in 1771, and travelled abroad. He married, May 2, 1775, Margaret Laughton, perhaps a daughter of Henry Laughton, a merchant of Boston. She was born May 12, 1755, and died November, 1806. He and his brother Nathaniel were contributors to and members of St. John's Lodge, A. F. and A. M., organized in 1766. He was a very prominent merchant of Newburyport, in partnership with his brother and brother-in-law, as Jackson, Tracy & Tracy. He "was generous and liberal in the expenditure of his wealth, and entertained many other distinguished guests in his hospitable home."¹⁰ Among his guests, in November, 1772, were Marquis de Chastellux, Major General of the French army, and one of the forty Immortals of the French Academy; Baron de Taleyrand (said to have been a brother of the famous Prince Taleyrand); M. de Montesquieu, grandson of the famous author; Viscount de Vaudreuil, and Marshal and Lieut.-Gen. Lynch. Chastellux's description¹¹ of his evening there with Colonel and Mrs. John Tracy, her two sisters, and the beauty, Miss Lee (a sister of Mrs. Nathaniel Tracy), is well known. "The house is very handsome and well finished, and everything breathes that air of magnificence, accompanied with simplicity, which is only to be found amongst

⁹Essex County Probate, No. 55,540.

¹⁰Currier's "Ould Newbury," p. 583.

¹¹Travels, p. 240, or Currier's "Ould Newbury," p. 579.

merchants." At this time John Tracy was probably a more prominent merchant than his brother, the latter having suffered reverses. Colonel John Tracy was an enthusiastic patriot, and served in General Sullivan's army in Rhode Island as aide-de-camp to General Stover. He was later Adjutant General of the Massachusetts militia. He was vestryman of St. Paul's, Newburyport, 1777-1780, and 1784-1815. From 1780 to 1784 he was senior warden. In 1803 he was made an honorary member of St. John's Lodge of Masons.

Children, all born in Newburyport:—

JOHN, b. Mar. 4, 1776; d. Nov. 27, 1781.

HENRY LAUGHTON, b. Sept. 1, 1777; d. May 26, 1797.

NATHANIEL, b. June 19, 1779; lost at sea, 1800.

MARGARET, b. Mar. 22, 1781; d. June 25, 1842, unm. Her will¹² leaves one-third of her property to her sister Mary Basset, one-third to sister Catherine C. Titcomb, and one-third to the five children of her deceased sister, Elizabeth Loring, of Boston.

MARY, b. Mar. 22, 1781; m. Capt. Christopher Bassett, b. May 11, 1774, d. Mar. 13, 1848. She d. Jan. 27, 1854.

HENRIETTA, b. June 28, 1782; d. July 8, 1812; m. Jan. 18, 1807, Willam Pierce Johnson, Jr., b. May 13, 1785, m. (2), Sarah Waite. Children: (1) William Pierce, b. Nov. 10, 1807; (2) Margaret Laughton, b. Jan. 20, 1809, d. July 8, 1879, m. Apr., 1829, Rev. Patrick Henry Greenleaf, D. D., b. in Portland, Me., July 11, 1807, d. in Brooklyn, N. Y., June 21, 1869, s. of Hon. Simon Greenleaf, LL. D., the great jurist, Royall Professor of Law of Harvard. He graduated, A. B., 1825, at Bowdoin, being a classmate of Longfellow and Hawthorne; A. M., 1828; A. M., Trinity, 1827; D. D., 1854, Indiana University. He practiced law, 1829-35, and was ordained, 1837. Children: (a) Henry Loring, b. Apr. 25, 1830, d. July 23, 1860, in New Orleans, m. Nov. 24, 1854, Harriet Gregory of Montreal, b. Dec. 9, 1831, d. Apr. 16, 1893, three children, including Rev. Arthur P. Greenleaf; (b) Henrietta Tracy, b. Apr. 25, 1831, m. Nov. 25, 1851, Rev. Charles Whitfield Homer, D. D., of Brooklyn, b. Jan. 22, 1828, five children, including Mrs. Edward Fitzgerald de Selding of N. Y., Mrs. William De Forrest Curtis of Boston, and Mrs. John S. Melcher of N. Y., the husbands of

¹²Essex County Probate, No. 55,544.

all three being lawyers; (c) James Edward, b. Aug. 2, 1832, m. Nov. 7, 1853, Mary Elizabeth, dau. of Hon. Paul and Harriet (Whiting) Willard, b. July 10, 1831, child, Robert Willard, A. B., Harvard, 1877, A. M. and M. D., 1885, Professor in the Harvard Medical School, Mary Willard, artist, and Ellen Willard; (d) Charlotte Kingman, b. Dec. 10, 1833, d. Oct. 7, 1834; (e) George Herbert, b. Nov. 25, 1834, d. Jan. 20, 1879, m. May 6, 1869, Elizabeth B. Chew, b. June 18, 1846, no children; (f) Lieut. Col. Charles Ravenscroft, U. S. A., M. D., b. Jan. 2, 1838, in Carlisle, Penn., m. Sept. 10, 1862, Georgiana Henry Franck de la Roche, b. Nov. 12, 1839, dau. of George Henry Frederick Franck and Jane Jacob (Belt) de la Roche, and granddaughter of Baron Frederick Franck, surgeon, U. S. A. in Civil War, and later deputy surgeon general, four children, of whom Patrick Henry or Henry S., b. 1870, M. D., U. of P., 1895; (g) Charlotte, b. May 1, 1839, m. June 6, 1865, Henry Martyn Congdon, b. May 10, 1834, architect of N. Y., five children, including Elizabeth Tracy, b. and d. 1868, and Ernest Arnold, b. Aug. 9, 1866, Professor of Chemistry at Drexel Institute, Philadelphia; (3) Edward Augustus, b. Aug. 11, 1810.

JOHN, b. Jan. 2, 1786; d. in Matanzas, Aug. 28, 1822.

ELIZABETH FARRIS, b. Dec. 14, 1791; d. in Boston, Aug. 15, 1825; m. Feb. 28, 1818, Henry Loring of Boston, b. 1792, d. June 11, 1866, s. of Capt. Joseph and Anna (True) Loring. Capt. Loring was at Bunker Hill, and in Gridley's Brigade in the Revolution. Henry Loring was a merchant, partner in Loring, Fiske & Co., of Pearl St. He married, second, 1820, Mary Middleton Lovell, and had James Lovell, b. 1831. He was an original proprietor of Mt. Auburn Cemetery, 1835, and member of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society. He was a very prominent wholesale hardware merchant. He was a typical gentleman of the old school. Children: (1) Henrietta Tracy, b. Dec. 15, 1818; d. Oct. 16, 1842, m. Lieut. James Henry Carleton, U. S. A.; (2) Ann, b. Nov. 9, 1820, living, 1896, in Newburyport; (3) Elizabeth Farris, b. May 28, 1822, d. Dec. 26, 1881; (4) Henry, b. May 31, 1824, d. Nov., 1862 (partner of his father), Adjutant 19th Indiana Vols.; (5) Mary Wyer, b. July 5, 1827, m. Charles Frederic Crehore, M. D.

CATHERINE DE BLOIS, b. Nov. 12, 1794; d. Mar. 13, 1875; m. May, 1819, George Titcomb, b. Feb. 21, 1785, d. Dec., 1863, son of Enoch Titcomb. He was a noted teacher of Newburyport and lived at 19 Market Street. Children, all alive

in 1896: (1) Mrs. George W. Hale of Taunton, who had Edward A. Hale, who has Ralph Hale, publisher, of Boston; (2) Mrs. J. H. Hodgkiss of Newburyport; (3) Margaret Tracy; (4) Selina J., of Newburyport; (5) Henry Laugh-ton, d. July 27, 1852, aged 15; (6) Patrick Tracy, d. Feb. 10, 1838, aged 5; (7) Elizabeth L., d. June 18, 1830, aged 13; (8) Mary E., d. Mar. 29, 1832, aged 7.

5. LIEUT. ROBERT TRACY was born Aug. 28, 1752, and died, unmarried, Dec. 16, 1804. In 1774, he signed a petition (with Captain Patrick and Captain Nicholas) to the selectmen to send a delegate to the Old Continental Congress in Philadelphia, September, 1775. He was 2d Lieutenant of the brig *Yankee Hero*, Captain James Tracy, a privateer of 120 tons, owned by Captain James Tracy, Jno. Jackson, Nathaniel Tracy, John Tracy, and Joseph Lee (son of Colonel Jeremiah Lee of Marblehead). The commission was signed by Perez Morton, Deputy Secretary, Feb. 20, 1776. On May 7, with twelve carriage and six swivel guns, and twenty-six men, on the way from Newburyport to Boston, she struck to the British frigate *Milford*, of twenty-eight guns, after a desperate encounter, in which four men were killed and thirteen wounded. Lieutenant Tracy was taken to Boston as a prisoner, and exchanged after Nathaniel Tracy had interviewed Lord Howe on board the *Eagle*. He apparently was a gentleman of leisure, having no occupation.

6. ENSIGN NICHOLAS TRACY, JR., son of Captain Nicholas and Meriam (Titcomb) Tracy, was born in Newburyport, July 24, 1773, and died there July 26, 1811. He married, Mar. 19, 1795, Lydia St. Barbe, daughter of Captain Wyatt St. Barbe. She died in Boston, Dec. 2, 1832. He was an ensign of the Washington Light Infantry in 1800, at the same time that Charles Jackson, later a Justice of the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court, son of Hon. Jonathan J. and Hannah (Tracy), was a lieutenant. He was a well-known merchant of Newburyport. His estate¹³ was valued at \$26,000. His descendant, J. Tracy Eustis, owns miniatures of Ensign Nicholas Tracy and of Captain Wyatt St. Barbe.

¹³Essex County Probate, No. 27,970.

Children, all born in Newburyport:—

ELIZABETH, b. Feb. 9, 1796; d. in Louisville, Ky., June 1, 1851; m. Nov. 22, 1818, Charles Massey of Portland, Me., a prosperous merchant.

NICHOLAS, b. June 19, 1797; d. Apr. 10, 1798.

ELEANOR ST. BARBE, b. June 13, 1799; d. June 17, 1889; m. Joseph Eustis, Oct. 2, 1820, son of William Beers Eustis. They had William Tracy Eustis, b. Sept. 29, 1822, in Boston; d. Oct. 11, 1906. He served for a short time in the Civil War, and was in partnership with his brother-in-law, John W. Wolcott. He was a prominent member of the New England Historic-Genealogical Society. Among his children is J. Tracy Eustis of Boston.

HENRIETTA LOUISA, b. Sept. 5, 1802; d. in Sudbury, Mass., Mar. 19, 1878; m. Nov. 16, 1825, George Brooks of Portland, Me., a near relative of Bishop Phillips Brooks.

HARRIET MARIA, b. July 5, 1805; d. in Portland, Me., Jan. 19, 1879; m. (1), Feb., 1825, John Adams Smith, who d. Sept. 27, 1833. She m. (2), Rev. John W. Ellingwood of Bath, Me.

7. NATHANIEL TRACY, JR., ESQ., son of Hon. Nathaniel and Mary (Lee) Tracy, was born Mar. 18, 1790, and died May 28, 1866. He married (1), June 16, 1818, Mary Wyer, and married (2) Anne M. Allen, who died in Medford, Sept. 30, 1869. He was a prominent broker of Boston, in the Merchants Exchange, of which he was treasurer so many years, previous to 1860,¹⁴ and his house was at 35 Essex street. He was associated, apparently, with his cousin Jeremiah Lee of Boston. He graduated from Boston Public Latin School in 1803, as had his father, also, in 1760.

Children by his first wife:—

NATHANIEL TRACY, JR., "Gentleman," b. 1823; d. Dec. 7, 1843.

ELIZABETH WYER, b. Jan. 16, 1822; d. May 27, 1843. Abby Allen, niece of his second wife, was adopted by him, apparently. She m. Horace Dudley Hall, b. Sept. 15, 1831, s. of Dudley Hall, Esq., and had Elizabeth Tracy. His second wife also had a nephew, Nathaniel Tracy Allen, and the beautiful Tracy silver services went to the Allen family.¹⁵

¹⁴See "The Boston Stock Exchange," 1893.

¹⁵Essex County Probate, Nos. 27,967, 55,545, and Middlesex County Probate, Nos. 43,239, 43,243.

8. "CAPTAIN JAMES TRACY, Gentleman," probably drowned at sea or killed about October, 1777, was undoubtedly a close relative of both Hon. Nathaniel Tracy and Captain Nicholas Tracy, but just what relationship is unknown. He was a very gallant sea fighter. He was captain of the brig *Yankee Hero*, 120 tons, a privateer owned by him, Jno. Jackson, Nathaniel Tracy, John Tracy and Joseph Lee, and commissioned Feb. 20, 1776. After a desperate engagement, the vessel, with twelve carriage, six swivel guns, and twenty-six men, on a trip from Newburyport to Boston, struck to the English frigate *Milford* of twenty-eight guns. Captain Tracy was struck in the thigh by a cannon ball. Lieutenant Robert Tracy was taken prisoner. They were both exchanged after Hon. Nathaniel Tracy had interviewed Lord Howe on board the *Eagle*. The 20-gun ship *Hero* was then built for Captain Tracy, launched June 2, 1777, and sailed for Cape Ann July 23. It went on the bar, was got off, and was never heard from after leaving Boston.

9. CAPTAIN THOMAS TRACY, master mariner, was a member of the Newburyport Marine Society, 1781 and 1798. He was probably of this family, but the connection is not known. He is perhaps the mariner¹⁶ who died in Marblehead, 1807.

A Thomas Tracy and Ann had a son James, baptized in Newburyport, July 10, 1774.

The Rev. Thomas Tracy, of Biddeford and Newburyport, who married Ann Bromfield, sister of John Bromfield (deceased by 1854), and of Elizabeth, wife of John Hoxie, and apparently daughter of Ann Bromfield, died there Aug. 11, 1872, leaving no widow and no known heirs. He left a legacy to the children of Charles W. and Elizabeth Hart of Goffstown, N. H.; to Hannah M. Rounds, housekeeper, and \$5,000 to the Bromfield Seminary in Harvard, Mass. He appointed¹⁷ Charles E. Guild of Boston, executor. He left an estate of \$52,644.16. His wife died in Newburyport, Sept. 10, 1856, leaving¹⁸

¹⁶Essex County Probate, No. 27,973.

¹⁷Essex County Probate, No. 55,548.

¹⁸Essex County Probate, No. 55,537.

\$5,000 to Eben F. Stone, Esq., of Newburyport, in trust for aged women; \$4,000 to Samuel E. Guild, Esq., of Boston, in trust "for my dearest friend," Eliza Ann Guild for life, and then to said Stone; \$1,000 to Mrs. Mary Jane, widow of Robert Jenkins, Esq., of Newburyport; \$500 to Mrs. Margaret, widow of Samuel Carson, Esq., of Newburyport; \$500 to Miss Margaret T. Emery, daughter of the late Robert Emery, Esq., of Springfield; and \$1,000 to my three sisters, Elizabeth, wife of John Hoxie, Mary R. Carson and Margaret S. Carson, and residue to her husband. She left an estate of \$16,494.57. She was a daughter of John Bromfield of Boston and Anna Roberts of Newburyport. Her brother John, who died in 1849, left \$110,000 to charities. In 1916, part of the Tracy-Bromfield library was given to the Massachusetts Historical Society.

It has not been ascertained who was the Patrick Tracy of Newburyport who served at Bunker Hill in Captain Perkins' company, and later in the Canada expedition. It is barely possible that he may have been a slave.

The following letters show the descendants of Captain Patrick Tracy who served in the Civil War:—

Roxbury, Oct. 2, 1866.

Dear Colonel:

An old gentleman of Newburyport, intensely interested in the history of that famous town, has asked me for the names, rank, etc., of the descendants of Patrick Tracy, who served in a military capacity during the war of the rebellion. I have made up the following list. Is it full and correct?

Great Grandsons.

Lee, W. R., Col. 20th Mass. Inf. and Bvt. Brig. Gen. and Brig. Gen. on the Staff of His Excellency, Gov. Andrew.

Lee, Henry, Jr., Lt. Col. and A. D. C. Staff of His Excellency, John A. Andrew, Governor, etc.

Lee, Francis L., Col. 44th Mass. Infy.

Great Great Grandsons.

Holmes, O. W., Jr., Lt. Col. 20th Mass. Infy.

Paine, C. J., Major Gen. Vols.

*Paine, W. C., Captain Corps of Engineers, U. S. Army.

*Paine, Sumner, Second Lieut. 20th Mass. Infy.

*Russell, Cabot J., Captain 54th Mass. Infy.

*Lowell, C. R., Col. 2nd Mass. Cav'y. & Brig. Genl. Vols.

*Lowell, J. J., First Lieut. 20th Mass. Infy.

Storow, C. S., Jr., Capt. 44th Mass. Infy.

*Storow, Samuel, First Lieut. 2nd Mass. Infy.

Jackson, P. T., Jr., 1st Lieutenant 5th Mass. Cavalry Captain.

I am not sure about the rank and regt. of P. T. J., Jr. Perhaps others,—Putnam, Cabot or Morse, served. Do you know?

A list of Captain Perkins' Newburyport Company present at "Bunker Hill," where it lost three men, records the name of *Patrick Tracy*. Is it possible that the P. there named is our ancestor? Very likely—he was an Irishman.

In the above list, those marked thus (*) were killed or died of wounds.

If you can add to my list, or discover any errors, please write me.

Very truly yours,

W. RAYMOND LEE.

Col. Henry Lee, Jr., Boston.

Octr. 6, 1866.

My Dear General:

The honorable record of the descendants of Patrick Tracy (and through Hannah Gookin, his wife, of Maj. Genl. Daniel Gookin, a Kentish soldier, and one of the best men of the Colony), is not quite full, and yet too full.

Of the great-great grandsons, my sister Mary, wife of George Higginson, had three sons in the war:

Henry Lee Higginson, Major 1st Mass. Cavalry.

James Jackson Higginson, Capt. & Brevet Major do.

Francis Lee Higginson, Capt. 5th Mass. Cavalry.

I do not record their wounds or imprisonment, because you have omitted any details of your own or others' services. I have altered young Pat Jackson's rank and regiment. Perhaps you might add to the Lowells, Anna Cabot Lowell, their sister, who served over three years as nurse; first in the transports, and then in the Armory Square Hospital, Washington, and received some commission or testimonial from Government as one of a few ladies who served so long.

I do not deem it fair to those who forsook home and encountered all the privations, toils and dangers of a soldier's life, to have my name included in the list, not that I did not perform useful work at some sacrifice, but not to be mentioned with the greater service.

Yours truly,

HENRY LEE, JR.

Brig. Genl. William Raymond Lee, Roxbury.

OLD NORFOLK COUNTY RECORDS.

(Continued from Volume LVI, page 308.)

Rodger [his T mark] Easman of Salisbury, house carpenter, for £100 sterling, conveyed to Joseph Easman and Benjamin Easman, my beloved sonnns of same town, the one a weaver, the other a tanner, my dwelling house, barns, outhouses, hovells and land in Salisbury, Joseph to have one-half and Benjamin the other half, bounded by land of John Easman, sometime part of the five hundred acres laid out by sd. town, by Nath^l Easman and by the highway leading to the mill, till it comes to the corner of the sd. John Eastman's orchard, June 23, 1676. Wit: Tho: Bradbury and Jabez Bradbury. Ack. 14: 9 mo: 1676, in Salisbury court, before Tho. Bradbury, recorder.

John [his M mark] Martyn of Amesberie, planter, for pay, conveyed to Jacob Morrill of Salisbury, half of lot number 10 on west side of pond in Amsbery, bounded by land of John Martyn, a white oake, by a highway, land of Jn^o Weed, Thomas Rowell's, and Jno. Martyn's lot, April 14, 1674. Wit: Georg [his M mark] Martyn and Sam^l ffoot. Ack. by grantor, April 17, 1674, before Robert Pike, commissioner.

Robert [his T Q mark] Quenby of Eamsberie, planter, for pay, conveyed to Jacob Morrill of Salisbury, shipwright, seven acres upland in Eamsbery, commonly called ye Oxe pasture, bounded by a highway, land of Edward Cottle, the great swamp, land of the widdow Whittridg and the eighth lot in number upon record. [No date.] Wit: Tho: Currier and John [his M marke] Martin. Ack. by grantor, 16th day of May, 1675, before Robert Pike, commissioner.

William Osgood, sen., millwright, and wife Elizabeth [her I mark] Osgood, both of Salisbury, for pay, conveyed to Jacob Morrill of Salisbury, shipwright, one acre and a half of land in Salisbury, near Isaac Morrill's house, bounded by a white oake near clay hill, a stump

near Isaac Morrill's shopp, Robert King's and Isaac Morrill's land, Aprill 13, 1674. Wit: Tho: Mudgett and Tho: Currier. Ack. by William Osgood, sen., and Elizabeth Osgood, before Sam^l Dalton, commissioner.

Execution, dated Oct. 2, 1676, against Ralfe Hall, to satisfy judgment of three thousand and five hundred foot of merchantable pine boards, to be delivered at a convenient lading place at Exiter, granted John Clough, at County court at Salisbury, April 13, 1675, signed by Tho: Bradbury, rec., and served by Henry Dow, marshal of Norfolk, by attachment of the barn and about three acres of land in Exiter, bounded by a common way to Powell's, to land of Kinsly Hall, adjoining the flatts, the barne upon said land, lying near said Hall's house, all of which was tendered by Lieft. Hall.

Receipt, dated Nov. 10, 1676, given by Dan^l Dow of Hampton to his brother Henry Dow, executor of will of their father, Henry Dow, for £10. Wit: Tho: Nud and Joseph Dow. Ack. Nov. 13, 1676, before Sam^l Dalton, commissioner.

Receipt, dated Nov. 28, 1660, given by Joseph Dow to Henry Dow, for £30, given me by my father in his last will. Wit: Tho: Nudd and ffancis Page. Ack. Nov. 14, 1676, before Sam^l Dalton, commissioner.

Receipt, dated June 30, 1670, given by Jonas Grigorie of Ipswich to his brother Henry Dow, for £5, which was given to his wife, Hannah Grigorie, formerly Hannah Dow, by her father Henry Dow, in his last will. Ack. June 30, 1676, before Sam^l Dalton, commissioner.

Receipt, dated April 29, 1674, given by Tho: Dow to his brother, Henry Dow, for five pounds given me by my father, Henry Dow, in his last will. Ack. April 29, 1674, before Sam^l Dalton, commissioner.

Jno. Smith of Hampton, tayler, for £12, conveyed to Rob^t Page of Hampton, yeoman, about five acres upland in Hampton, abutting on a piece of land of said Jn^o Smith's and land of Will. Marston, adjoining land of Mr. Samuell Dalton, April 16, 1675. Wit: Henry Dow and Benjamin Moulton. Ack. by grantor, 14. 8 mo. 1675, before Sam^l Dalton, commissioner.

Tho: Webster of Hampton, planter, for £10, con-

veyed to Daniel Dow of Hampton one share of ye great ox common in Hampton, part of which is now layd out, in number sixteen, with all rights both of mowing and feeding, which was formerly Willi: Couls of Hampton, deceased, June 30, 1676. Wit: Henry Dow and John Smith. Ack. by Tho: Webster and Sarah, his wife, July 10, 1676, before Samⁿ Dalton, commissioner.

Henry Dow of Hampton, being allowed to choose, by conditions of the last will of his father, Henry Dow of Hampton, deceased, whether I would, after decease of my mother, accept of ye house and land my father lived in, one of the conditions being that I should surrender the right in the house I was then possessed of to my brother Joseph Dow, be it therefore known that I have accepted the houses and lands upon the aforesaid conditions, and do convey to my brother Joseph Dow of Hampton one hundred rods of ground which was possessed by my father, as by a deed of gift appeareth, also ye housing with the fruit trees and fences belonging, all being in Hampton, bounded by the highway, land of Tho: Nud and Joseph Chase, Oct. 9, 1676. Wit: Tho: Nud and Joseph Smith. Ack. Nov. 13, 1676, before Samⁿ Dalton, commissioner.

Susana [her mark] Whitridg of Amsbury, for full payment and satisfaction given to my sonne Thomas Colby of Amsbury, and for three years' service by said Colby since he came to age, conveyed to sd. Colby one halfe of all ye land now in my possession, sometime of my former husband, Anthony Colbie, now deceased, both corne ground and pasture in Amsbury, bounded by land of Jarret Haddon, land formerly of Willi: Sargent, sen., now deceased, by the Powwow river and by the country highway; also, one halfe of all ye meadow lying by Mr. Carr's, joyning meadow of Jno. Bayly, together with about twenty-five acres of upland lying by ye burchin meadows, as it was granted, bounded by land of James George, Phillip Challis, a town highway, and by Willi: Osgood's land, April 26, 1676. Wit: Willi: Sargent and Samⁿ Weede. Ack. Nov. 24, 1676, before Robt. Pike, associate.

Joseph [his I mark] Peasly of Haverhill, turner, for

pay, conveyed to Samⁿ fowler of Salisbury, shipwright, thirty acres of land in Amsbury, near a hill commonly called pine hill, beyond the pond brooke, which is part of the land called ye children's land, bounded by Tho: Rowels, James George, and a highway, May 13, 1673. Wit: Tho: Currier and John Colby. Ack. by Joseph Peasly on June 29, 1674, and by Ruth [her X mark] Peasly, his wife, June 2, 1675, before Nathⁿ Saltonstall, commissioner.

William Worcester of Boston, cordwainer, for £30. 11s. 6d., conveyed to Edward Gove of Hampton, husbandman, seventy acres of land in Amsberie formerly called Salisbury Newtown, which was given unto me by will of my reverend father Mr. Willi: Worcester, late of Salisbury, deceased, sd. land not far from ye house of Jno: Weed, towards Haverhill, being the first great lot laid out next to Amsbery town, bounded with ye allowance added at the hither end next Amsbery town in consideration of ye country highway running through ye sd. land to Haverhill, Dec. 19, 1672. Wit: Jno. Mansfeild and John Hayward. Ack. by grantor and Constant [her mark], his wife, May 12, 1674, before Edward Ting, assistant.

John Higginson, pastor of ye Church of Christ at Salem, conveyed to Richard Wharton and Sarah, his wife, the seven hundred acre farm which had been granted sd. Higginson by the general court, and which sd. Higginson, in consideration of his fatherly & tenderly affection and care to provide for his oldest daughter Sarah before her intermarriage with Richard Wharton, her now husband, and promised to her for a marriage portion, consisting of upland and meadow, bounded by the Haverhill line and by severall boundages particularly expressed in a survey made by Joseph Davis, Henry Palmer and Nathan Parker, a return of which survey was made Oct. 12, 1669, to the General Court and accepted, dated April 25, 1672. Wit: Samuel Torrey and John Lake. Ack. by grantor, April 25, 1672, before Edward Ting, assist.

Jno. Carleton, of Haverhill, and Hannah, his wife, for 17li : 10s., conveyed to Jno. Swaddocke of Haverhill about four acres and one hundred rods of land in a field former-

ly of Wm. Deale, on the other side of little river, bounded by Capt. Pall White, widdow Deale, a highway, land formerly of Wm. Deale, land of Jno. Swaddock; also one cow commonage, according to grant of aforesaid town; grantor agrees to save grantee harmless from all claims of the executors of the will of Mr. Joseph Jewett, late of Rowley, Feb. 5, 1665. Wit: Jno. Ward and Nath: Saltonstall. Ack. by grantor and Hannah, his wife, Feb. 27, 1667, before Symon Bradstreet.

Edward Clarke of Haverhill, husbandman, for 30s., conveyed to Jno. Swaddock of Haverhill, husbandman, about one acre and a half of land in Haverhill, eastward of the east meddow river, adjoining land of sd. John which he bought of Samⁿ Plumer of Nubery, who holds it by deed from mee, the sd. Edward, as administrator to Wm. Deale, late of Haverhill, deceased, Nov. 9, 1669. Wit: James Davis, jun., and James Pecker. Ack. by grantor, Nov. 9, 1669, before Nath: Saltonstall, commissioner.

Samⁿ Plumer of Nubery and Mary, his wife, for £14. 10s., conveyed to Jno. Swaddock of Haverhill, twelve acres and a half of land in Haverhill below little river, bounded by land of widdow Deale and Jno. Swaddock, Feb. 25, 1667. Wit: John Ward and Alice Ward. Ack. by grantor, Jan. 30, 1676, before Nath: Saltonstall, commissioner.

Indenture, between Georg [his O mark] Goldwyer of Salisbury, yeoman, and Capt. Nathⁿ Saltonstall of Haverhill, the sd. Georg Goldwyer for the special trust and confidence he hath in the sd. Nathⁿ, his faithful friend, but more specially for the love and affection which he beareth to his now beloved wife Martha, that a competent joynture he had settled for her mayntenance in consideration of a grant and liberty which ye sd. Martha gave to ye sd. George for the sale of an estate in England, which she was interested in, and had a right unto, upon which a promise as a firm marriage covenant was made to reinstate and possess her, ye sd. Martha, within and of some other settled estate of land and moveables in New England which hath not yet been legally finished; the sd. Martha, the present wife of ye sd. Georg, and ye sd.

George convey to ye sd. Nathⁿ Saltonstall, as a ffoeffee, in trust, ye messuage and tenement in the township of Salisbury, with the land mentioned and pasture, the house lott and planting lott and meadow lott called ye great meadow, joining ye sd. planting lott, together with all houses, edifices, barns, stables, outhouses, orchyards, gardens, backsides, courts, voyd places and fences, and comonages, also all his household stuff, as brass, pewter, iron, bedding, all furniture, bed and table linen, all other implements of household stuff and husbandry ; also four cows, two oxen and a horse ; possession of which was given by delivering the key of my now mansion house and sixpence in silver, dated March 15, 1676-77. Wit : Andrew Grele and Ephraim Winsly. Ack. April 11, 1677, before Daniel Denison.

Mortgage deed, Thomas Woodbridg of Nuberie, merchant, for £100, conveyed to Seaborn Cotton of Hampton all the messuage and tenements in Haverhill formerly in the occupation of James Davis, lying between land of Jn^o Ward and Leift. Brown ; also one-third of the sawmill in Amsberrie, now in possession of ye sd. Tho : Woodbridg, March 21, 1676-77. Wit : John Richardson and William Hubbard. Ack. by grantor, April 10, 1677, before Samⁿ Dalton, commissioner.

Richard Dole, agent or attorney for Jn^o Sanders of Weeks, in ye parish of Dounton, county of Wilts, in old England, yeoman, by power of attorney, dated May 9, 1674, recorded in Norfolk County, lib. 3, p. 7, for £22, conveyed to Philip Grele of Salisbury, planter, about ten acres marsh land belonging to sd. Jn^o Sanders, bounded by Rolf's Island, Jno. Severans, Ephraim Winsly, Wm. Barns, and by marsh now in possession of Samⁿ ffrench, March 27, 1675. Wit : William Ilsly and John Dole. Ack. by Richard Dole, in behalf of Jno. Sanders, Aug. 25, 1676, before Nath : Saltonstall, commissioner.

(To be continued)

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SHIP AMERICA, GEORGE CROWNINSHIELD & SONS, OWNERS
John Crowninshield, Master, 1801. Jeremiah Briggs, Master, 1802. Said to have been the largest vessel in the merchant
service in the United States. From the water-color by Corne in the Peabody Museum, Salem

HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS

OF THE

ESSEX INSTITUTE

VOL. LVII

APRIL, 1921

No. 2

SALEM VESSELS AND THEIR VOYAGES.

BY GEORGE GRANVILLE PUTNAM.

I.—THE SUMATRA TRADE.

A story of a ship is always sure to interest Salem people, especially if the craft ever had the slightest connection with the port of Salem, either on account of having been built by her artisans or having been sent on long distance voyages "to the rich ports of the Far East" by her merchants. Many a Salem family of today looks back with pride to a member who figured as cabin boy, ordinary seaman, able seaman, mate, master, supercargo or owner. It will be the aim of the chronicler of these sea stories, which were first prepared by him as a member of the staff of the *Salem Evening News*, to present them, with additions and corrections, in permanent form, in order that the historical information which they contain may be preserved.

It has often been said, and the declaration cannot be too strongly emphasized, that unless those of today who are conversant with the early and late commercial trade of Salem record such knowledge in manuscript or print, a great deal of valuable history will be lost. It was with that end in view that this series of articles was written, an especially strong reason being that there is living in Salem today one who has a wide knowledge of maritime affairs through his long connection as a member of the old Salem merchant firm, Stone, Silsbees, Pickman & Allen—Mr. George Henry Allen. In preparing a brief

history of the early Sumatra trade, Mr. Allen's assistance in designating various sources from which information could be obtained, has been most helpful.

The files of the old *Salem Register*, recognized as a thoroughly reliable authority for marine news, the records at the Salem Custom House and the marine journals which are carefully preserved in the archives of the Essex Institute, have been freely consulted. Other authorities noted are "The Annals of Salem," by that eminent antiquarian, Joseph B. Felt; "An Historical Sketch of Salem," by Henry M. Batchelder and Charles S. Osgood, Mr. Osgood being particularly well prepared for writing the commercial chapter of Salem, from his many years' service as Deputy Collector of Customs for the district of Salem and Beverly; and the Historical Collections of the Essex Institute.

Engaged in the Sumatra trade were Salem merchants of the highest standing, and the owners of vessels, the masters, supercargoes, clerks and sailors, were natives of Salem, Beverly, Danvers, Peabody, Marblehead, Lynn and, in fact, of towns all over Essex County, as well as from far beyond its limits.

In a paper read before the members of the Essex Institute several years ago, on "Some Historical Streets and Commercial Houses in Salem," the late Gilbert L. Streeter, who was for many years editor of the *Salem Observer*, declared, "It is worthy of remark that Salem has had two periods of commercial greatness and renown. First in the colonial days of Philip English, say from 1650 to 1750—a hundred years of great prosperity. And again in the sixty years following the Revolution, a period of even more distinguished prosperity. The first commercial expansion was in the trade with the West Indies, and the second with the East Indies. In both of these large fortunes were made and noted families established."

Figuring prominently in the East India commerce in the period after the Revolution was this trade between Salem and Sumatra, a trade marked by romance, pathos, tragedy and prosperity. It will be the endeavor of the writer to interest the reader with a relation of many of the incidents which tell of the ships, the sagacity, and the

heroism of Salem men engaged in this trade nearly a century and a quarter ago. Be it remembered always that the first American vessel to visit the northwest coast of the Island of Sumatra and to bring to this country from there a cargo of pepper in bulk was the property of a Salem merchant, commanded by a Salem shipmaster, manned by Salem men, and that the cargo was brought right into this very port of Salem, and the duties paid into the Salem custom house. The vessel was the brig *Rajah*, Captain Jonathan Carnes, and her owners were Jonathan and Willard Peele. The story has been told by various persons, among the first, if not the very first, appearance in book form being in a volume published by Harper & Brothers, New York, in 1835, and written by J. N. Reynolds, who joined the United States frigate *Potomac* at Valparaiso, Chile, as private secretary to Commodore John Downes of the *Potomac*. The *Potomac* sailed from New York, August 24, 1831, for Sumatra and the Pacific. The object of her visit to that island will appear later. She did not reach Boston on her return, however, until May 22, 1834, having, in the meantime, circumnavigated the globe. Although Mr. Reynolds did not join the frigate until she reached Valparaiso, he had access to all the notes made on the voyage, as well as to the official documents. He was thus enabled to compile an authentic account of the whole voyage, and he wrote in the first person singular.

In Joseph B. Felt's "Annals of Salem," Batchelder and Osgood's "Historical Sketch of Salem," and in an article by Captain John S. Sleeper, a shipmaster, and afterwards one of the editors of the *Boston Journal*, it is stated that the first American vessel that ever procured pepper from the northwest coast of Sumatra was the Salem schooner *Rajah*, commanded by Captain Jonathan Carnes. She was fitted out from Salem for the East Indies in 1795. While in Bencoolen, Sumatra, the captain learned something of the pepper trade, at that period confined principally to the west coast, at the single port of Padang. To this port he shaped his course, without any other knowledge or directions than such as he had by accident been enabled to procure from a pilot, whose services he secured

to accompany him. On arriving at Padang, Captain Carnes found that little pepper was raised there, but that it was brought in small quantities by the natives in their proas from other ports further to the north. These ports he did not visit at this time, but, after considerable delay, was successful in procuring a cargo, after which he sailed for the United States. However, while touching at some of the West India islands, he was so unfortunate as to lose his vessel on a reef and with her the whole of his cargo. On his arrival in Salem, he made his owners acquainted with the new channel of trade he had opened, and the whole matter was kept a profound secret.

The Captain's representations induced Jonathan Peele, a wealthy distiller of Salem, to build a large schooner, to fit her out for a long voyage, and to give Captain Carnes the command of her, with instructions to carry into operation his plan of procuring a cargo of pepper. This schooner (brig) was called the *Rajah*, and she was a substantial vessel of about 120 tons. Her register, now on file at the Salem Custom House, is as follows: "*Rajah*, schooner, 120 tons, Salisbury, 1795, altered to a brigantine July 14, 1798. Registered November 3, 1795. Willard Peele, Jonathan Peele, Ebenezer Beckford, owners; Jonathan Carnes, master. Registered July 14, 1798. Willard Peele, Jonathan Peele, owners; Jonathan Carnes, master. Registered March 25, 1802, Israel Williams, Charles Cleveland, Isaac Hacker, Jr., owners; Joseph W. Williams, master. Registered August 8, 1803, Edward West, Gamaliel H. Ward, owners; Gamaliel H. Ward, master."

The *Rajah* was armed with four iron guns, and she carried a crew of ten men. Captain Carnes was absent eighteen months. After arriving at Padang, the Captain procured such further information of the coast as induced him to make sail for other ports further to the north. Without chart or guide of any kind, he made his way among numerous coral reefs, of which navigators have much to dread even at the present day, as far as the port of Analaboo, touching also at Soo-Soo, where he succeeded in procuring a large portion of his cargo.

Captain Carnes' owners received no intelligence from





GEORGE HENRY ALLEN

Surviving Member of the firm of Stone, Silsbees, Pickman and Allen

in during his entire absence, and Mr. Peele began to feel anxious for the result of his venture. But one fine morning, October 15, 1799, a vessel entered the harbor with colors flying, and as rusty as a coal barge. The people hurried to the wharves, and great curiosity was manifested to learn in what part of the eastern world Captain Carnes had been so successful in loading his vessel in so short a time with pepper. The cargo had been purchased of the natives for a few boxes of trinkets and hardware of comparatively little value, and was sold in Salem for thirty-seven cents a pound, says Captain Sleeper. The long absence of Captain Carnes was owing to the necessity of remaining in port until a second crop of pepper had ripened and had been gathered. There had never been so much pepper brought in one vessel to the United States, and, Mr. Reynolds says, it was amusingly related that there were at that time very intelligent persons who went into minute calculations to show that the amount of stock on hand would be found greatly beyond the immediate demand. It is worthy of remark, also, that at this period a vessel of 150 tons was deemed quite large enough to bring the whole crop raised on the west coast of Sumatra. The cargo was sold at a profit of seven hundred per cent.

It is easy to imagine the possibilities of competition called into existence by so extraordinary a voyage as the *Rajah's*. As yet, however, the matter was a secret. No one was able to penetrate the mystery, and preparations for another voyage showed that the owners had confidence that their prosperity would continue. It was known that Captain Carnes had received his first knowledge of the trade while at Bencoolen, so in a very short time vessels were fitted out from Salem directly for that port, with instructions to learn, if possible, the directions which had been given to Captain Carnes. They were not successful. Of the west coast, north of Padang, nothing was known; no charts and no sailing directions were to be found; while the most unfavorable accounts of the danger of navigation were pointed out, and were exaggerated by the English, but more particularly by the Dutch, in order to deter the new adventurers. These vessels, therefore, be-

ing unable to get on the track of the more successful pioneer, proceeded to make up their voyages in some other part of India. The secret voyages to Sumatra did not, however, continue long. Early in the nineteenth century the mystery was solved, and the whole ground was open for competition. Such was the beginning of a foreign trade that was to prove of tremendous importance to Salem merchants and was to enrich them beyond their greatest anticipations. Says Mr. Reynolds :

While feeling our way among the islands and shoals of the extensive coast of Sumatra, it was our original intention to furnish something in the shape of "sailing directions," for the guide of other mariners, and we had actually prepared an article for the purpose. This duty, however, has since been much more ably performed than it could have been with our limited space and materials. For this important service our country is indebted to Captains Chas. M. Endicott and James D. Gillis of Salem, Mass. The former who was master of the ship *Friendship* when she was seized by the Malays at Quallah-Battoo, has been trading on the coast for more than fifteen years, during which period he has, profitably for his country, filled up all the tedious and vexatious delays incidental to a pepper voyage by a laborious and careful survey of the coast. Captain Endicott has since published the results of his labors in a well executed chart of the coast, accompanied with sailing directions, comprising almost every item of information requisite for navigators in these waters. Actuated by a like zeal for the commercial interests of his native country, Captain Gillis has extended the survey to latitude five degrees north, and published an excellent chart, with sailing directions.

Mr. Reynolds also speaks very highly of the valuable work done in this line by Captain George Nichols of Salem, who arrived on the coast of Sumatra May 9, 1801, in the ship *Active* of Salem. He made accurate observations and corrected several errors on the old English charts, which were of great value to those who came later.

A few words as to the country from which so many riches came. Sumatra is one of the largest islands on the globe, and is the most westerly of a group known as the Sunda Islands. It is estimated to be one thousand miles in length by over two hundred miles in breadth.

is direction is from northwest to southeast, extending across the equator, which divides it into two nearly equal parts. A portion is in latitude five degrees and fifty-six minutes south, and extends from longitude ninety-five degrees and thirty-four minutes east to one hundred and five degrees and fifty minutes east. The whole of the southwest coast lies on the Indian ocean, and the northwest point stretches into the Bay of Bengal. Although situated in the very centre of the tropics, yet it is more temperate than many regions beyond the torrid zone. The hour of the greatest heat is two o'clock in the afternoon, when the temperature is between eighty-two and eighty-five degrees, and seldom rises above eighty-six in the shade. The foregoing applies to the coast, but beyond the first range of hills the air is quite cool, so that fires are desirable in the morning. The thermometer there stands at about seventy degrees. On the west coast the southeast monsoon, or dry season, begins about May and lasts until September. The northwest monsoon begins about November, and the heavy rains cease about March. The island is covered by a luxuriant vegetation, grass, shrubbery, jungle, fruit trees and forests.

There is a variance in the dates regarding the first arrival of Captain Carnes of Salem from the northwest coast of Sumatra in the *Rajah*. Pepper had been brought from the west coast of Sumatra to the United States several years before 1799. Felt, in his "Annals of Salem," says: "1789—This year the brig *Cadet* arrives at Boston, commanded by Captain Jonathan Carnes of Salem, from the west coast of Sumatra, with pepper, spices and camphor; is said to be the first American vessel that ever traded in that quarter."

"In 1794, Jan. 7. News that the *Grand Sachem*, Captain Jonathan Carnes, from India, is lost on Bermuda Island, with her cargo." (This would seem to be the vessel to which Mr. Reynolds refers, as before stated.)

That the brigantine *Rajah* was built expressly for Captain Carnes after his arrival from the west coast of Sumatra, is open to doubt. The Salem Custom House register shows that a schooner *Rajah* was built in Salis-

bury in 1795, that her rig was changed to a brigantine, July 14, 1798, that her owners were Jonathan and Willard Peele and Ebenezer Beckford, and Jonathan Carnes, master.

On January 3, 1798, the brigantine *Rajah*, Captain Asa Batchelder, entered at the Salem Custom House, from Bordeaux, with wine and merchandise to Willard Peele & Co., Stephen Phillips (great-grandfather of Stephen W. and J. Duncan Phillips of Salem), and George Crowninshield. The duties paid on the cargo amounted to \$251.49.

The *Salem Gazette* of July 20, 1798, has the following in its ship news column: "Cleared — Brig *Rajah*, Carnes, Sumatra." This would appear to be the beginning of the first direct voyage of the *Rajah*, Captain Carnes, master, to the northwest coast of Sumatra. She next entered at the Salem Custom House, October 15, 1799, her cargo consisting of 158,544 pounds of pepper, 28 pounds Hyson tea, nankeen and china articles, the duties being \$9,512.64 on pepper, \$8.96 on tea, 15 cents on nankeen, and \$1.08 on china articles, a total of \$9,522.83. So ends what is apparently the pioneer voyage of the American pepper trade with the northwest coast of Sumatra. The cargo was consigned to Jonathan Peele.

Captain Carnes brought home with him, on this voyage, many curios, which he gave to the East India Marine Society. They formed the nucleus around which the splendid museum now in this city, which has become famous the world over for its unrivalled collection, has grown.

Rev. William Bentley, D. D., in his "Diary," published by the Essex Institute in four volumes, says, under date of October 22, 1799:

Captain Carnes, from Sumatra, shew me various specimens of shells, a large oister shell, like that given to the Historical Society, the tooth of an elephant, a pipe with two stems, a petrified mushroom cap and stem, and two specimens of boxes in gold, with open work, extremely nice, and open flowers. The work is of uncommonly thin plates of gold, by the Malays.

It is proposed by the new marine society, called the East India Marine Society, to make a cabinet. This society has been lately thought of. Captain [John] Gibaut first mentioned the plan to me



ARTICLES IN THE PEABODY MUSEUM

Brought by Captain Jonathan Carnes from Sumatra in 1799, which formed the nucleus of the Salem East India Marine Society Collections

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this summer and desired me to give some plan of articles or a sketch. The first friends of the institution met and chose a committee to compare and digest articles from the sketches given to them.

Last week I was informed that on the preceding week the members had met and signed the articles proposed by the committee and had chosen Captain Benjamin Hodges president, Captain Jacob Crowninshield, treasurer, and had paid \$25 each for a fund, and had chosen a committee of observation. On Saturday last, Captain Gibaut brought me the articles and begged a revision of them. I gave him my ideas. The president asked the same, and I have promised whenever they are again exhibited to give my remarks in writing, as this liberal and important design has not yet the perfection its members intend to give it.

These articles may be seen in the Museum to-day. They are exceedingly valuable, not only as curios, but from their historical associations as well. Thus was the beginning of the Salem East India Marine Society, which has come down to the present generation, after an existence of more than one hundred and twenty years, dating its very life to this first voyage in the pepper trade. It is something in which every Salem-born person ought to take an interest, and more than that, to feel a deep pride.

From the register of the Custom House, it appears that there were two vessels named *Rajah*. The *Salem Gazette*, as stated, contains the clearance, in its issue of November 15, 1795, of the schooner *Rajah*, Captain Carnes, for India. The writer has not been able to find either in the file of the *Salem Gazette* or at the Custom House the date of the arrival home from that voyage to Sumatra of this schooner. That Captain Carnes was absent in Sumatra in the schooner *Rajah* in 1797 is certified by the following paragraph in Felt's "Annals of Salem":

Jan. 24, 1797. A statement is made of Captain Jonathan Carnes, of the schooner *Rajah*, on the coast of Sumatra. The commander of a French privateer, supposing that he was an Englishman, attacked him in the night. The assailants boarded the *Rajah*. Captain Carnes thought them Malays, and a conflict ensued. The mistake was not discovered till one of his men had a hand cut off and a French lieutenant was killed. As a result of a parley, the French apologized and departed.

Another version of the story, as told in the "Historical Sketch of Salem," by Charles S. Osgood and Henry M. Batchelder :

In the year 1793, Captain Jonathan Carnes of Salem, being at the port of Bencoolen, learned that pepper grew wild on the northwest coast of Sumatra. On his return to Salem he made known his discovery to Jonathan Peele, who immediately built a schooner and gave Carnes the command. The vessel was called the *Rajah*, and was of 130 tons burthen, carrying ten men and four guns. In 1795 he set sail for Sumatra, the destination of the vessel and the object of the voyage being a profound secret. The *Rajah* cleared at Salem November 3, 1795, for India, having on board two pipes of brandy, fifty-eight cases of gin, twelve tons of iron, two hogsheads of tobacco and two boxes of salmon. The vessel was absent eighteen months, during which time her owner, Mr. Peele, had no tidings from her. At last she entered Salem harbor, with a cargo of pepper in bulk, the first to be so imported into this country. This cargo was sold at a profit of 700 per cent. The *Rajah*, under command of Captain Carnes, entered at Salem in October, 1799, with 158,544 pounds of pepper, and in July, 1801, with 147,776 pounds, the last consigned to Jonathan and Willard Peele.

Captain Carnes made other voyages to the Island of Sumatra. He entered at Salem, July 18, 1801, in the brig *Rajah*, with 147,776 pounds of pepper to J. & W. Peele and others, the duties being \$8,938.46. Included in the cargo were 1438 pounds of coffee to the same firm. The passage home occupied five months. Captain Carnes arrived again in Salem, one hundred and sixty days from Sumatra, in the ship *Concord*, November 16, 1803, with 252,570 pounds of pepper to George Crowninshield & Sons and 9367 pounds of pepper to the master. The duties were \$15,727.44. Whether or not the captain retired from the sea at this time is unknown. William Leavitt, in his interesting History of Essex Lodge, A. F. and A. M. of Salem, thus chronicles him : "73 — Jonathan Carnes, master mariner ; died December 10, 1827. He was one of the earliest navigators to the East Indies. In 1788 he commanded the brig *Cadet*—the first vessel to the west coast of Sumatra. Married, April 26, 1784, to Rebecca Vans. Admitted to the lodge, November 2, 1780." The *Salem Register* chronicles his death as follows, and adds





SHIP BELISARIUS

Samuel Skerry, Jr., Master, 1801, George Crowninshield & Sons, Owners
From the painting in possession of George S. Silsbee

no more: "Died—On Friday [December 7, 1827], Captain Jonathan Carnes, aged 70." Only that, and not a word of the great achievements of this distinguished mariner, whose high place is secure in the commercial history of Salem and the United States of America.

Other merchants were not slow in following the example of the Peeles. First among them was the firm of George Crowninshield & Sons, who dispatched their fine new ship *Belisarius*. The *Salem Register* of Thursday, July 30, 1801, in its ship news column, reports the arrival of the ship at Salem, on her return from her Sumatra voyage, as follows:

Tuesday [July 28]—Arrived, the fast sailing and well known ship *Belisarius*, Captain Samuel Skerry, Jr., 102 days from Bencoolen, Sumatra, having performed the round voyage in the remarkably short time of eight months and three days. She sailed from Salem November 25, 1800. In our bay the *Belisarius* was chased by an English frigate. It is supposed that the *Belisarius* has made the shortest voyage to the East Indies that was ever made from this country. Her last voyage was made in eight months and nineteen days, the two voyages together having been performed in sixteen months and twenty-two days.

Captain Skerry experienced very bad weather on the coast of Sumatra for ten days before he arrived at Bencoolen, having several successive and adverse gales of wind and strong currents setting to leeward, at the breaking up of the monsoon, which greatly retarded the passage.

Captain Skerry spoke on May 6, latitude 23 south, longitude 55 east, the ship *America*, Captain John Crowninshield of this port, seventy-four days out, all well, bound to the Isle of France, to repair her foremast, which was sprung, and she expected to arrive there in two days afterwards. The *America* passed the Island of Tristan-du-Cunha in forty-five days, and Cape of Good Hope in forty-nine days.

The *Belisarius* brought a cargo of 336,497 pounds of pepper, the duties on which amounted to \$20,357.16. The consignees were Samuel Ropes, George Burchmore, George Crowninshield & Sons, Samuel Skerry, Jr., and Joseph Henderson. She fitted at once for another voyage to Sumatra, and she cleared at Salem, September 3, 1801, under the same commander. She arrived home July 13, 1802, completing the voyage in twelve months and twen-

ty-one days, and making the following marine report: "Left Sumatra March 15. Was detained for pepper nearly three months at different ports, where the article was scarce and had to be purchased with the greatest difficulty. The British residents threatened to prohibit the trade to all foreign vessels, as the two annual East India Company's ships would not procure cargoes without a long detention. The Malays attempted to cut off a small English brig mounting ten guns and had burned the town of Lemonaja." The duties paid were \$20,916.40.

Before sailing from Salem on this voyage, "a most distressing accident occurred aboard the ship, August 4, 1801. Benjamin Ropes, the second mate, and son of Samuel Ropes, was engaged in launching the ship's foretopmast, and while he had placed himself on the forecap and was in the act of forcing out one of the topmast wedges, it run down suddenly and crushed him instantly to death. When he was taken from under the cross-trees and rigging, there was not the slightest appearance of remaining life—it had fled—and he that was here a few minutes before, cheerful and gay, had gone, we trust, to a happier world. Several other persons were in the ship's top at the time, but all escaped unhurt." The foregoing is from the pen of Rev. Dr. Bentley, in the *Salem Register* of August 6, 1801, to which is appended a beautiful tribute to the young man. In his "Diary," under date of August 5, 1801, Dr. Bentley writes: "Mr. Ropes was buried to-day. About 400 persons attended in procession, and he was the first ever lodged in the new burying ground, which lays between Brown street and between St. Peter and Williams streets, extending to North river." This refers to the Howard street cemetery, and it settles the point regarding the first tenant of this ancient ground, public burials in which long since ceased.

The *Belisarius* sailed again from Salem, August 12, 1802, but returned to port on August 24, having been struck by lightning at midnight on August 17, in latitude 42 north, longitude 62 west, five days from Salem. Captain Skerry reported:

The weather was squally, with hard rain, blowing fresh from the southward, the ship being under close-reefed topsails, all hands on

deck being employed in taking in sail, the *Belisarius* was suddenly struck by lightning, which descended by the maintopgallant mast and ran down the mainmast into the between decks, where it exhausted itself. Every person on board was knocked down excepting the man at the helm. One of the seamen, Stephen Shehane of this town, was killed; the chief mate, Mr. Meek, and two seamen, Henry Lemmond and Timothy Brown, wounded, the last named severely injured, being much burned. The ship for more than an hour appeared to be on fire, as large quantities of smoke issued from the hatches and companion-way. All the compasses were rendered useless, their polarity being totally destroyed, the north point of some tending to the southeast, and in others it was fixed at southwest. The compasses which remained below were more injured than those on deck. The ship received no damage in the hull, but the maintopmast is injured. As the compasses would not tend regularly to any one point, it was with some difficulty that the ship could be kept on her course in the night time. Mr. Meek and the two seamen are in a fair way of recovery.

After some needed repairs, the *Belisarius* sailed for Sumatra on her third voyage to that island, under command of Captain Skerry. She arrived home September 20, 1803, in 132 days from Sumatra, and in 96 days from the Isle of Bourbon. She brought a cargo of 295,824 pounds of pepper, on which were paid duties of \$17,749.44. This was the last voyage of the ship in the Sumatra trade.

The *Belisarius* was launched from the shipyard of Enos Briggs at Stage Point, now the site of the Naumkeag Mills, in October, 1794. She was 261 1-2 tons register, was pierced for sixteen guns, and carried that number. She was 94 1-2 feet long, 25 feet beam, and her depth must have been more than one-half her breadth. She carried most valuable cargoes, and paid the highest duties for a vessel of her size. She was comparable to modern clippers in speed. She was the pride of the Crowninshields, who built her, owned her, and sailed her, the father, George; and the sons, Jacob, who was offered the position of secretary of the United States Navy by President Jefferson, but declined the honor; Benjamin W., who was appointed to the same position by President Madison, and filled the office from 1814 to 1818, it being the only instance in the history of this country where two brothers have been appointed to this high office;

Richard and George, all being part owners of the ship. Her voyages to the East were among the quickest. After eight voyages to India, following her Sumatra career, with such sailors as Edward Allen, Robert Peele and George Burchmore for her masters, and Dudley Leavitt Pickman as supercargo, "and after bringing home to her owners wealth so ample as to prompt Dr. Bentley to write of her in his diary as 'one of the richest ships of our port,' the beautiful *Belisarius* went to pieces in a gale in the Bay of Tunis in April, 1810."

The end of her commander on her Sumatra and other voyages was tragic. The *Salem Register* of October 26, 1808, says: "Died—On Sunday evening, Captain Samuel Skerry, aged 36, lately an inhabitant of this town, but who had removed with his family to Brookfield. He was a distinguished shipmaster. His death was caused by a kick from a horse, on Saturday evening." Certainly it was the irony of fate, that a man who had braved the dangers of the sea and of pirates in foreign lands, should have come to his death in this manner. Rev. Dr. Bentley thus chronicles the incident:

"Oct. 24, 1808.—Last evening died Captain Samuel Skerry. He was one of our most active sea captains and belonged to the ancient family which alone held any portion of Salem from the beginning. After full success, a few years since he purchased a valuable farm in Brookfield, Worcester county, Mass. He was upon a visit to Salem, in Pope's stable, Marlborough street. Inadvertently he struck a horse with his umbrella, and the servant gave him notice that the horse was unruly. But the captain ventured to strike the animal again, and the heels of the horse struck him upon his abdomen, and he died at Mr. Farrington's. He has left a wife and five children. A warning to take advice and not incur unnecessary danger. He was 36 years of age. He was injured Saturday afternoon and died on the Sunday night following."

Another famous ship, owned by the Crowninshields, which engaged in the Sumatra trade, was the *America*. The *Salem Register* of November 6, 1801, says:

Arrived this morning, the fast-sailing ship *America*, from the Isle of France and Sumatra, after a passage of ninety-five days from

he latter. The *America* belongs to George Crowninshield & Sons, and has performed a circuitous voyage to the East Indies in 255 days, and was embargoed at the Isle of France upwards of thirty days of that time. We understand that the *America* has brought part of a cargo of pepper and piece goods. Captain [John] Crowninshield, while at the Isle of France, was politely treated by the inhabitants, who appeared greatly pleased that the intercourse with the United States was again opened. The embargo of thirty days which he sustained was put on in consequence of two English men-of-war appearing off the island, where they remained some time and captured all the Danish and Hamburg vessels which were bound to the island. September 24, while at the island, two large ships looked into the road and flew English colors, but did not enter.

The *America* brought 844,918 pounds of pepper, and paid a duty of \$56,348.82. Her next voyage was between Salem and Sumatra, via New York, under command of Captain Jeremiah Briggs. Says the *Salem Register*: "Saturday, October 9, 1802, arrived, ship *America*, Captain Jeremiah Briggs, from Sumatra via New York, where she arrived in 100 days' passage. Upon entering Salem harbor she fired a Republican salute of 21 guns. Died on the coast of Sumatra, William Lamson of Hamilton, an active and promising young man. It is supposed that he was poisoned by drinking stagnant water on shore. William Lull, a native of Massachusetts, and William Foster, real name Charles McDonald, a native of Ireland." The cargo was 760,000 pounds of pepper, and duties, \$50,031.76.

The ship *Cincinnatus*, Captain John Endicott, arrived September 11, 1803, with 307,824 pounds of pepper and 10,460 pounds of coffee, to Joseph Peabody. Duties, \$18,992.44. Captain Endicott reported that the natives of Sumatra were at war with each other, in consequence of the Americans procuring pepper at the petty ports and thereby depriving the Rajahs of the larger ports of their revenue. The brig *St. John*, Captain Goodshall of Salem, was condemned at Lebonarge as not seaworthy, and the greater part of the crew had gone aboard New York ships at Soo-Soo.

The *Cincinnatus*, William Haskell, master, entered in

November, 1807, with 347,000 pounds of pepper; ship *Franklin*, Captain Samuel Tucker, in September, 1810, with 539,835 pounds of pepper; ship *Janus*, John Endicott, master, in December, 1809, with 537,989 pounds of pepper, and again in December, 1810, with 547,795 pounds of pepper. The *Janus*, on this last voyage, sailed from Salem April 1, 1810, and arrived at Vineyard Haven on her return, November 26, 1810, making the round voyage in seven months and twenty-five days, and beating that of the *Belisarius* in 1800-1801, which was eight months and three days.

Mr. Peabody continued in the trade until his death in Salem, January 5, 1844. Among the later voyages of his ships were the ship *Sumatra*, Captain Peter Silver, which entered in July, 1838; the ship *Eclipse*, Captain George Whitmarsh of Beverly, in February, 1840, in February, 1841, and in December, 1842; and the ship *Lotos*, Captain Benjamin Balch (grandfather of Frank Balch, Mrs. Fred W. Broadhead and Miss Elizabeth Balch of Salem), which entered in November, 1841. All of these vessels brought valuable cargoes of pepper and paid enormous duties at the Salem Custom House. Reference to these vessels will be made later.

Arrived at Salem, September 12, 1803, the brig *Two Friends*, Captain W. Russell, Sumatra and Isle of France, September 20. The vessel had boisterous weather in the Gulf Stream, and lost a smart black boy overboard.

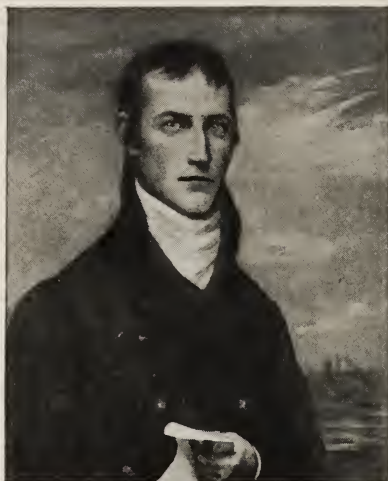
Arrived in Salem, September 20, 1803, the ship *Minerva* Captain Ward, Sumatra, 132 days, and proceeded to a foreign port.

The brig *George Washington*, Captain Thomas Webb, cleared from Salem, December 10, 1801, and entered at the Salem Custom House from Sumatra, via New York, in November, 1802, under command of Captain Thomas Bowditch. She cleared again for Sumatra, December 20, 1802, under Captain Bryant.

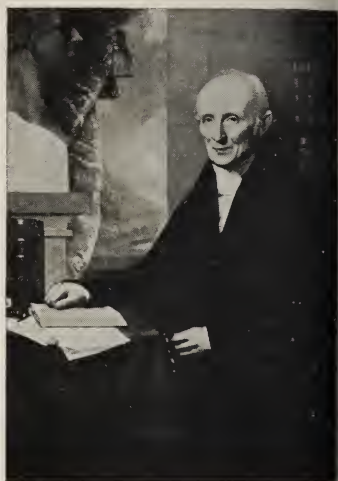
Arrived at Salem, October 31, 1803, brig *George Washington*, Captain Timothy Bryant, Sumatra, via Isle of France (duties, \$16,518.87), and the ship *Putnam*, Captain Nathaniel Bowditch (the famous mathematician and author of Bowditch's navigator), also from Sumatra and the Isle



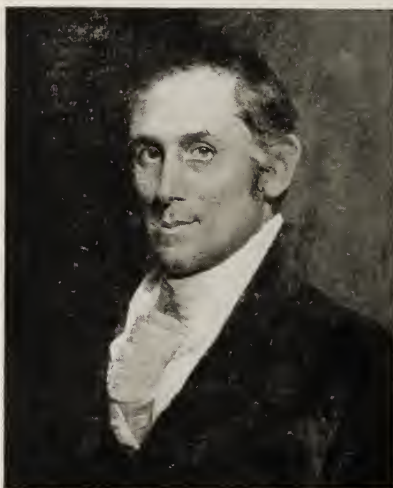
NAMES DISTINGUISHED IN THE EARLY 19TH CENTURY COMMERCIAL
LIFE OF SALEM



JACOB CROWNINSHIELD, 1770-1808
Merchant



NATHANIEL BOWDITCH, 1773-1838
Mathematician and Navigator



WILLARD PEELE, 1773-1835
Merchant



JOSEPH PEABODY, 1757-1844
Merchant

France, which arrived December 25, 1803. Both were assigned to Abel Lawrence & Co. The cargo of the latter consisted of 425,000 pounds of coffee, and the duties were \$27,634.67.

Arrived at Salem, December 10, 1803, ship *John*, Captain John Barton, Sumatra, via Manila and the Isle of France, with sugar, etc., to Nathaniel Fisher. Duties, \$44.99.

The ship *Active*, Captain George Nichols, cleared at Salem, December 31, 1801, for Sumatra, and although she did not bring her cargo from that island to Salem, but sold it in Manila, yet a notice of that voyage is here inserted, showing the competition in trade among Salem shipmasters and also giving a glimpse into the life experienced by them in Sumatra.

The story is taken from a chapter in a volume entitled *George Nichols, Salem shipmaster and merchant, an autobiography dictated by him over fifty years ago, when he was eighty years old. The narrative deals chiefly with his seafaring life at the close of the eighteenth century and the opening of the nineteenth. His voyages were principally to the far east; he sailed also to the north of Europe, to England and the Mediterranean. Illustrated with introduction and notes by his granddaughter, Martha Nichols. Published by the Salem Press Co. and for sale.*"

Captain Nichols' story is as follows:

About four weeks after my marriage I engaged another voyage to India in the same vessel, the *Active*. I sailed about the middle of December [1801], for Sumatra, as master and supercargo. We arrived on the coast, and I cruised for a day or two along the coast in search of a landing place, when I saw the masts of a ship in a small harbor, I entered, and found it was the port of Mukka, and the ship was the *America* of Salem, Captain Jeremiah Briggs, master. I went ashore in my boat, and saw great numbers of Malays, well armed. I soon negotiated with the governor for a cargo of pepper. We fixed upon a price, but he said he could not deliver it to me until Captain Briggs' vessel was loaded. Now the *America* is more than three times the size of the *Active*, and she had as yet received but half of her cargo, so I declined waiting, unless the governor would fix upon a time for me to begin to receive. It was

finally agreed that I should begin to receive in a week, whether the *America* was loaded or not.

Captain Briggs objected strongly to this, and insisted upon having all the pepper that was brought in until his cargo was completed. A week elapsed. I now used every argument in my power to induce Captain Briggs to come to some amicable terms, but all my efforts were fruitless. I told him that if three hundred piculs were brought in daily, he might have two of them, but if only two hundred, I should feel myself entitled to one hundred.

"You shall not have a pound if I can help it," was his reply. "If it has come to fighting," said I, "the hardest must fend off." Every effort was made by him to prevent me from getting pepper notwithstanding which I got the first day one-fourth of all that was brought in, and the second day I got one-third. "Now," said I, "you see I can get pepper as well as you can. It is a pity to quarrel about it. Let us work together harmoniously." But no, he would not yield to my wishes.

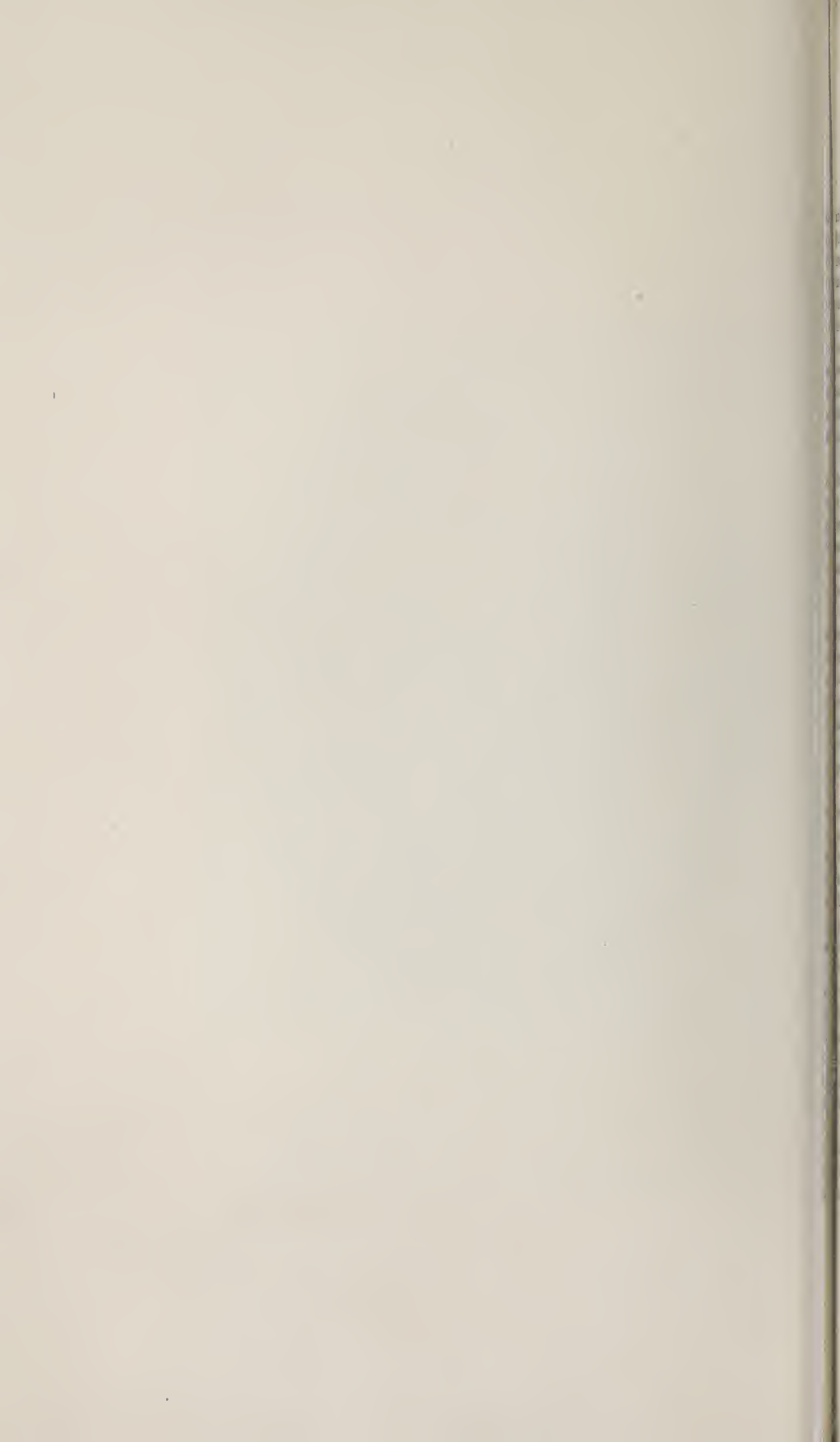
A great deal of pepper was brought from a village which was about half a mile distant from the harbor where our vessel lay. The natives brought it in bags upon their backs, and were obliged to cross a river about two feet deep. Captain Briggs, thinking to get the advantage of me, employed his men, of whom he had about three times as many as I had, in transporting it through the water to his vessel. Seeing this, I observed to my men that I was sorry to call upon them to do such drudgery as that, but I must do it otherwise Captain Briggs would obtain all the pepper. They replied, with a great deal of feeling, "Captain Nichols, we will go as far as Captain Briggs' men, let them go as far as they may." Saying, they went cheerfully to work, and at the close of the day found that we had one-half of all that had been received. I again renewed my first offer to Captain Briggs, but he declined it and replied to me as before.

Observing on one occasion that a large quantity of pepper had been brought in in boats during the night, I resolved to secure it if possible. Accordingly, I arose at daylight, jumped into my boat and taking four of my men, with my bags, rowed to the shore. We passed the *America* on our way, the crew of which were surprised to see us stirring so early, but when Captain Briggs discovered our object, he, too, manned his boat and went ashore. He was too late, he found to his great mortification, to obtain any pepper. We had it all, a larger supply than we had received in any one day.

Before I had completed my cargo, I narrowly escaped being cut off by the natives. I was ashore one day receiving pepper, when Mr. Ward, joint supercargo with Captain Briggs, saw one of his bags in the hands of a native. He suddenly snatched it from him



GEORGE NICHOLS, MASTER OF THE SHIP ACTIVE
From a miniature painted in his youth



all ran off. The man, enraged, drew his creese and pursued him, but failing to get at him, he turned upon one of my men who was hurt, receiving peppers. The man sprang, the Malay after him, and immediately all the Malays drew their weapons. I was from one hundred to two hundred yards distant at the time, and seeing the confusion I hastened to the spot to ascertain the cause. There I saw my man and the Malay within ten feet of him, with his drawn creese in his hand. To retreat was impossible, for the Malays were between me and my boats. So, alone and unarmed, I went into the midst of the natives, and, they perceiving that my design was pacific, assisted me in arresting the offender.

I clapped my hand upon his back and asked him what he meant by such doings. Then sending for the Rajah, I complained of the man to him and assured him that if ever anything of the kind occurred again I would immediately resort to my ship, fire upon the town and destroy it, adding, "You know I could do it." He assented, and after that I had no more trouble. It was now about noon, so I went aboard my vessel and dined.

On my return one of the first persons I met was the Malay who attempted to kill my man. He was seated upon some bags of pepper, and being at leisure, I sat down by him. With his permission, I took his creese in my hand and found upon examination that it was poisoned, and the least wound with it would have caused instant death. This Malay was a very civil, pleasant fellow, and one of the smartest men I ever knew. We afterwards became very good friends.

The morning after this adventure Captain Briggs left for a neighboring port, a few miles distant, although he had received only about two-thirds of his cargo. His reasons for leaving we may infer without much difficulty. From this time I received pepper about as fast as I could ship it. A few days after this Captain Thomas Webb of Salem, of the brig *George Washington*, came into port for a cargo of pepper. As my cargo was nearly completed, I requested him to wait until my vessel was loaded, and then he would have the market to himself. He agreed not to interfere with me, but fearing to be left there alone with the natives, he left port in the course of a day or two. When Captain Webb first saw me ashore he eyed me with astonishment. "Why, you look like a devil," said he. I was dressed in striped, loose trousers, a tin jacket, without vest, an old slouched hat, and shoes without stockings, but the shoes I took off when wading through the water. Nothing pleased the natives more than to find me ready to conform to their customs. I often walked arm in arm with their leading men, went into their huts to light my cigars, and offering them some, would sit down and smoke with them. A little act of impru-

dence on my part came very near bringing me into serious difficulty with the Rajah.

About the time I began to receive pepper, they raised the price of one dollar on a picul. This was in consequence of their charging more in other ports. I met the Rajah and other leading men in a room, which they called their council chamber, and remonstrated with them upon raising the price, after the contract which they made with me, but all to no purpose. In the excitement of the moment I called the Rajah a bad man, which exasperated him very much. I patted him on the shoulder and asked him to go with me into another room.

I then offered to give him \$100 if he would fulfill his contract with me, but he would not consent to do it for that sum. Finally I agreed to give him \$500, and told him that he could pocket the whole if he chose. This sum satisfied him, and he assured me of his friendship. In less than a fortnight after Captain Briggs left Mukka, I completed my cargo and made arrangements to continue my voyage.

During my stay at Mukka, which was about four weeks, I never could prevail upon my mate, Ebenezer Slocum, to go ashore, he was so much afraid of the natives. I left for Manila, and as Captain Benjamin Hodges advised me to go through the Straits of Malacca, I took that course, although attended with so much danger on account of the large number of pirates infesting the coasts that he was unwilling to go through several years before without the convoy of a well-armed vessel. As my vessel was poorly armed I felt no little anxiety on my passage, a tedious one of twenty days. I saw several vessels at a distance, which I took to be pirates, only one of which showed any disposition to molest me, and knowing that I could not escape from him, I steered directly towards him determined to run him down if possible, seeing which, he immediately made off. People were surprised that pepper should be brought there for sale, but my merchant, Mr. Kerr, a Spaniard managed to sell mine at about the cost. During my stay at Manila I met Zach Silsbee, son of Nathaniel and Sarah (Becket) Silsbee of Salem, and a shipmaster and merchant. I sailed from Manila for Europe and home, November 12, 1802, touched at Cape Town, C. G. H.; arrived at Rotterdam, where the cargo was discharged, sailed March 10, and after a very pleasant passage home, arrived July 28 1803.

Captain Nichols sailed again in the *Active*, this time for Amsterdam, leaving Salem September 1, 1803, with cargo of tea and colonial produce. He arrived in the Texel after a very short passage of twenty-seven days.

and sold his cargo at Emden at a handsome profit. He sent the *Active* home in command of his mate, Ebenezer Slocum of Salem, and came as a passenger in a sailing vessel, Captain Isaacs, from Amsterdam for New York. He arrived at his home in Salem in season for breakfast, July 31, 1804. Thus ended his last voyage; he was only 26 years of age. He later engaged in business as a merchant, and died in Salem, October 19, 1865, in his eighty-eighth year, being then the oldest native born citizen of Salem. Misses Martha and Charlotte Nichols, who reside in the famous Pierce-Nichols house, 80 Federal street, Salem, built by Jerathmiel Pierce in 1782, and designed by Samuel McIntire, Salem's distinguished architect, are the granddaughters of Captain Nichols.

The *Active* was built in Salem in 1799, registered 206 tons, was, first, a ship, and later a barque and a brig. Her owners at various times were Ichabod Nichols, Benjamin Hodges, Gamaliel Hodges, Edward Allen, George Nichols, Benjamin Pierce, Timothy Bryant, up to 1804, the last date of the foregoing owners. Later, the ship passed into other hands.

Arrived at Salem, August 28, 1804, ship *Friendship*, William Story, Canton, China, Sumatra, and the Isle of France, with pepper, coffee, cassia and tea to Jerathmiel Pierce, William Story and William B. Parker. Duties, \$31,514.19. The *Friendship* was one of the famous ships of her day. She was built in Salem by Enos Briggs, and was launched May 28, 1797, from his yard in South Salem for Messrs. Waite and Peirce. Mr. Briggs was also the builder of the frigate *Essex*. The *Friendship* was 342 tons register, and she made seventeen voyages to China, Java, Sumatra, Madras, London, Hamburg, Archangel, St. Petersburg, and other European ports, and her duties, as recorded in the impost book at the Salem Custom House, amounted to \$141,394.33. She was captured by the British September 4, 1812, while returning to Salem from Archangel, under command of Captain Edward Stanley, and taken to Plymouth, Eng., where she was condemned December 9, 1812.

In the marine room of the Peabody Museum of Salem is a full-rigged model of the *Friendship*, made by Thomas

Russell, the ship's carpenter, for Captain William Story's young son, William Story, Jr. It is a wonderful piece of work. From her starboard and port sides protrude eighteen guns, nine on each side, giving the ship the appearance of a man-of-war. The work is labelled: "Model of ship *Friendship*, 342 tons. Made on board ship. The guns were cast by the natives of Palembang, Sumatra. Gift, in 1803, of Captain William Story, commander of the ship." Thousands of persons have seen and admired this piece of the carpenter's skill, which stands in a large case in the centre of the room.

Other arrivals from Sumatra noted in the marine column of the *Salem Register* are :

Arrived August 22, 1804, ship *Cincinnatus*, William Haskell, Sumatra, 122 days, via New York ; cargo, 8328 pounds of coffee to Nehemiah Andrews. Duties, \$416.40.

Entered August 22, 1805, ship *Cincinnatus*, Haskell, Sumatra. No goods landed.

Cleared October 26, 1803, brig *Sukey*, George Ropes, Sumatra. Entered on her return, October 23, 1804, with pepper, coffee and indigo to Ephraim Emmerton and George Ropes. Duties, \$620.47.

Arrived January 18, 1805, ship *Good Hope*, George Cleveland, Sumatra, via Isle of France, 103 days, with pepper, sugar and indigo to Nathaniel West and George Cleveland. Duties, \$19,195.40.

Arrived January 19, 1805, ship *Aurora*, William Webb, Sumatra, with 7185 pounds of pepper to Joseph Ropes. Duties, \$474.21. Passage, 131 days.

Arrived January 25, 1805, ship *Freedom*, John Reith, Sumatra, with pepper, indigo, coffee and cassia, to Jonathan and Willard Peele. Duties, \$17,179.52.

Cleared April 22, 1805, ships *Mary Ann*, Norris, *Minerva*, Beckford, and *Exeter*, Osgood, East Indies.

Cleared April 25, 1805, ship *Two Sons*, Ruee, India.

Arrived November 13, 1805, ship *Eliza*, Smith, Sumatra and Isle of France, July 31, and proceeded without landing any cargo from a foreign port.

The *Salem Register* of July 6, 1806, reports that "William Brown, one of the crew of the ship *Putnam*,





SHIP FRIENDSHIP

William Story, Master, 1804. Peirce & Waitt, Owners
From the water-color in the Peabody Museum, Salem

Captain John Carlton of Salem, arrived at Calcutta in February, and brought information of the ship being cut off at Rhio, a port of the island of Bintang, Straits of Singapore, the second mate and five of the crew being killed, viz: Samuel Pierson of Saco, second mate, Richard Hunt, Henry Reynolds, George Cooke and Caesar Thompson of New York, and Stephen Holland of Long Island, N. Y. At the time of the tragedy Captain Carlton was on shore settling his accounts, being nearly ready for sea. The chief mate, with the remainder of the crew, some of them badly wounded, escaped in the boat on board two English brigs that lay in shore of them. There they were joined by Captain Carlton and left at Penang, Sumatra. Have since heard of the arrival of the captain at Maras."

The foregoing ship *Putnam*, commanded by Captain John Carlton, was captured by the Malays, November 28, 1805, and several of the crew were massacred. The ship was at anchor in the outer roads of Rhio, Island of Bintang, where she had been trading with the natives for pepper, and the captain had closed his business. A Malay brig, belonging to Lingen, a neighboring island, was lying in the inner roads, besides two English brigs—the *Malcolm*, Captain Fenwick, and the *Transfer*, Captain Matthew. Captain Carlton, November 26, having been ashore and aboard the *Malcolm* to transact business, was informed on his return that a boat from the Lingen brig had visited his ship, and from their behavior had excited strong suspicions of a design to cut her off. They had also been on board several times before, appearing to gratify their curiosity.

Captain Carlton endeavored to excite the caution and courage of his officers and crew, confident that there was no danger, but from timidity or negligence. The next morning the third officer was sent to the Malay brig and instructed them not to come again on board the ship. The boarding nettings were set and other preparations made for defence. On November 28, Captain Carlton was again obliged to go ashore to close up his business with the Rajah, previous to sailing. He was much averse to leaving the ship again, on account of the suspicious conduct of the Malays. As the brig lay to the southward,

and it was blowing a perfect gale from the northward, he felt there was little chance of the boat coming off. He took the pinnace, with Mr. Fenno, his clerk, and two hands, and went ashore. Returning at five o'clock in the afternoon, he called on board the *Malcolm* to take his leave. He had been there only a few minutes when he was alarmed by a boat from his ship coming alongside, with seven of the crew, three of them dangerously wounded—Second Officer Samuel Page Pierson, Stephen Holland and William Brown, the two former mortally. The men's wounds were immediately dressed. The Malay boat, with sixteen men, had been to the *Putnam*, with the pepper. They were received very unguardedly, in spite of all of Captain Carlton's caution.

The pepper was taken in and the hands were weighing it, when Mr. Pierson noticed that the Malays were secretly receiving creeses from their fellows in the boat. Mr. Pierson stepped to them and ordered them to return to the boat. This was the signal for them to begin their savage attack, in which Mr. Pierson fell mortally wounded. The first officer received a slight wound, but escaped over the bow. Richard Hunt got into one of the fore channels, but a Malay creesed him, and he fell into the water and was seen no more. The black cook, George Cowley, concealed himself below and was not seen after the action.

A black man, Henry Annuis, was killed as soon as the action started. Caesar Thompson, the steward, a mulatto, was struck, but he seized a handspike and knocked the assailant and another down, but a third gave him a mortal wound. Stephen Holland fought bravely with a handspike, but received a mortal wound. William Brown, the carpenter, was left to maintain the contest alone, which he did, and was thereby able to save the ship.

He had a stout stick three feet long, on the end of which the cook had fastened a coffee mill. This was an excellent weapon, and he did such deadly work with it that the Malays were glad to leave the deck.

(To be continued)

THE BURNAP-BURNETT GENEALOGY.

BY HENRY WYCKOFF BELKNAP.

(Continued from Volume LVI, page 280.)

29. ABRAHAM BURNAP is mentioned in his mother's will in 1663, while that of his brother Isaac in 1703 refers to Isaac Burnap, son of Abraham Burnap of Hoddesden, Herts.

Child :—

3. ISAAC.

30. ISAAC BURNAP of Ware, Herts., flax-dresser, married at an unknown date Elizabeth ——. He died before February 8, 1705/6, and his will was proved in the Commissary Court of London. (Essex & Herts., Watts 252.)

He is mentioned in the will of his mother in 1633, and, as a witness, in that of his brother John, as well as in that of Elizabeth, his brother John's widow, and in 1684 in that of his brother Jacob.

The will of Isaac Burnap :—

My loving wife Elizabeth Burnap to be sole executrix. Isaac Peake, son of Henry Peake of Stansted Abbott, Herts., Isaac Tabram, son of Stephen Tabram of Standon Yeoudall, Freehold land called Jerumpitts (2 1/2 acres), Isaac Burnap, son of Abraham Burnap of Hoddesden, Herts., my brother Thomas Burnap, my brother Joseph Burnap, Copyhold land called Cleypitts (1/2 acre), Stephen Tabram to be Overseer. Dated 8 May, 1703.

Witnesses :—James House,
George Mathew,
Elizabeth House.

Proved 8 Feb., 1705/6, by the widow, the executrix.

31. JACOB BURNAP of Stanstead Abbots is mentioned in the will of his mother in 1633, the will of Elizabeth, widow of his brother John, and in that of his cousin John Burnap of Stanstead Abbots in 1673/4, as being in occupation of land in Dungfield.

His wife's name was Grace, and in his own will he is

styled "yeoman." This will is dated 19 July, 1684. He leaves "20/- to each of my brothers Isaac Burnapp and Joseph Burnapp. The residue to my wife Grace, and she to be sole executrix." His mark is witnessed by John Nobbes, Grace Hobings (mark), Mary Parnell and Thomas Feild. It was proved 6 May, 1685. (Arch. Mddx. Essex & Herts., 180 Sewell.)

32. JOSEPH BURNAP is mentioned in the will of his mother in 1633, in that of his brother John's widow, Elizabeth, in 1684, in that of his brother Jacob, and in 1703 in that of his brother Isaac.

33. JOHN BURNAP, senior, of Stanstead Abbots, is mentioned in the will of his mother in 1633. The word "senior" was evidently used to distinguish him from the son of his first cousin, living at Stanstead Abbots at the same time, viz., John Burnap, the malster, whose will, dated 1682, was proved 1687.

He married, date unknown, Elizabeth —, and died before 8 September, 1680. His will calls him of Stanstead Abbott, Herts., yeoman, and is dated 25 June, 1680. It mentions his wife Elizabeth, appoints her sole executrix, and is witnessed by Thomas Hide, Isaac Burnap and Thomas Roberts. It was proved in Mddx. Essex & Herts., 75 Sewell.

His wife died before 15 April, 1684, a widow. They evidently died without issue.

The will of Elizabeth Burnap of Stanstead Abbots, Herts., widow, 4 Sept., 1683: £10 to Anne Canfeild, widow. £5 to John Canfeild. £5 to Thomas Canfeild. £10 to Andrew Canfeild. All the goods in the chamber wherein I lie to Andrew Canfeild's children. £10 to Robert Nash's wife. £20 to Thomas Everett's wife. £5 each to Elizabeth and Martha Day, the two daughters of Ralph Day. £5 to my brother Thomas Burnapp. £5 to Isaac Burnapp. £5 to Jacob Burnapp. £5 to Joseph Burnapp. £5 to John Hockley. The copper and the jack to Swinburn Keepe. Residue to Thomas Feild of Stansted Town." The mark of the testatrix is witnessed by Daniel Hunsden, Thomas Hunsden (mark), and Ann Pepper (mark). It was proved 15 April, 1684. (Arch. Mddx. Essex & Herts., 137 Sewell.)

34. DANIEL BURNAP is mentioned in the will of his mother in 1633. He may be the Daniel who married 21-22 Jan., 1707, Mary Page at St. Alphage, Cambridge, and again, as a widower, 1 July, 1714, of Sandwich, Kent, Mary Jones of St. Mary's in Sandwich, by special license to marry at St. Mary's, Sandwich, of St. Mary's, Cambridge. Hertfordshire and Cambridgeshire are adjacent counties.

35. DOROTHY BURNAP is mentioned in the will of her mother in 1633 as the wife of Thomas Hide (Hyde), and she witnessed the will of her brother John Burnap in 1680.

36. A daughter whose name does not appear is mentioned in her mother's will, which refers to "my grandchild John Hocklie," and in 1683, Elizabeth, the widow of John Burnap, leaves him £5.

38. ROBERT BURNAP, who was baptized at Hodsden Chapel, 28 November, 1627, came to New England with his father at the age of 11 years, and before 1653 had married a wife Ann —, by whom he had at least five children. She died 25 June, 1661, in Reading, and he married, as Robert Burnap, junior, 28 May, 1662, Sarah, sister of John "of the Hill," Brown or Broune.

In 1655 he was chosen to keep the Pound, and is to have 2d. for every head he turns the key upon. The same year "the meddow land from Jeremiah Swayne's meddow downe below the falls was divided by lott among the settlers," and his name is among those added to earlier divisions. In 1665 he was sealer of weights and measures, and in 1670-2, 1674-5, 1677-8, 1681, 1693 and 1694 he was selectman. In 1692, in the minister's rates he stands at £1 : 5 : 3, which used to show the relative pecuniary reputation of the inhabitants. It was probably he who became a freeman on 18 April, 1695, and 16 November, 1697, he was a witness to the will of John Upton of Reading, and land formerly his is mentioned in the will.

In Middlesex Land Records, vol. xiv, p. 70, is a deed of Robert Burnap of Reading, husbandman, consideration 40/, to Thomas Taylor, husbandman, of land on north side of Ipswich River, 5 Dec., 1694.

Witnesses : Joseph Burnap,
John Dix,
Joseph Hodgman.

Acknowledged 2 June, 1703, by Sarah Burnap, executrix.

He died 18 October, 1695. (Reading Vital Records.)

Children by first wife :—

64. SARAH, born 6 Nov., 1653; died 4 April, 1696.
65. JOHN, born 16 May, 1655; died before Sept., 1725.
66. ROBERT, born 28 Feb., 1657; died 1 Nov., 1674, "grandchild of Robert." (Middlesex Court Records.) There is some confusion in regard to him, as in one place he is called John.
67. HANNAH, born probably in this order, died 12 Jan., 1722/3 Newbury, Mass.
68. MARY, born 17 June, 1661; died 30 Jan., 1690/1. (Reading Vital Records.)

Children by second wife :—

69. JOSEPH, born 24 Mar., 1663; died 19 Aug., 1744, aged about 81 Wakefield, Mass. In one record a Joseph is said to have died 19 June, 1675, but as will be seen below this Joseph certainly did not, and it looks like an error for 19 January 1675, the date of Isaac's death.
70. ELIZABETH, born 21 Feb., 1664/5; died 7 Oct., 1688.
71. LYDIA, born 8 April, 1667; died 9 June, 1699. (Reading Vital Records.)
72. ISAAC, born 29 April, 1671; died 19 Jan., 1675. (Reading Vital Records.)
73. SARAH, born 4 April, 1672. (Clerk of Courts' Records.)
74. SAMUEL, born 15 Sept., 1675; died 2 May or June, 1676.
75. BENJAMIN, born 8 June, 1677; died after 1740.
76. DORCAS, born 22 Aug., 1679; died after 1720.

39. ISAAC BURNAP, baptized 20 March, 1629/30, was eight years old when the family emigrated, and married 8 November, 1658, Hannah, daughter of Thomas and Jane (Batter) Antrim (Antrum) of Salem.

Thomas Antrum was a weaver, and had arrived from Southampton in the *James* at Boston, 3 June, 1635, being a native of Salisbury, Wilts, and settled in Salem, where he was granted land in 1636, and purchased more of his brother-in-law Edmund Batter of Salem, in Brooksby, in

653. He probably married Jane, a sister of Edmund, and they were members of the Salem Church. (Essex Antiquarian, vol. v, p. 71.)

Lease of cattle by Tho: Antrum to Isaack Burnap, Antrum to be maintained in convenient meat and drink and washing, but if Antrum see cause to remove or dyet himself, then Burnap to pay ten pounds. 18 Jan., 1658, recorded 24 Dec., 1662. (Essex Deeds, vol. ii, p. 55.)

Indenture, 20 April, 1658. 15 Dec., 1658, Tho: Antrum of Salem and Isaack Burnap of ye same (son-in-law to ye sd. Tho:), consideration 140 pounds, my farm, with a dwelling house, etc., yt wch I ye sd. Tho: Antrum formerly bought of my brother, Edmond Batter, in ye bounds of Salem, bounded east by Samll. Verry, west by Tho: James and Mr. Johnson, north by Tho: Goldthrite, south by ye Common, reserving while I live the lower fire roome & ye chamber over ye parlor to ye west. (Essex Deeds, vol. i, p. 58.)

Thomas Antrum v. Isaack Burnap, for not paying part of the purchase of a farm bought of plaintiff. Withdrawn.

Writ: Thomas Antrum v. Isaack Burnap of Salem, dated 13 June, 1660, served by Thomas Goltwrite, constable of Salem, by attaching of farm, meadow and upland, housing, etc., that Isaack Burnap lives upon. 26 June, 1660. (Ipswich Court Records, vol. ii, p. 209.)

Discharge of mortgage of Isaack Burnap on farme purchased of his father Antrum by Edward Batter, executor, about March, 1661/2. (Essex Deeds, vol. ii, p. 36.)

Isaack Burnap, consideration 205 pounds, to Tho: James, the farme mentioned in the indenture above. 22 Jan., 1662/3. Acknowledged 6 Oct., 1663. (Essex Deeds, vol. iii, p. 73.)

In the will of Thomas Antrum: To Isaac Burnap, son of my daughter Burnap, ten pounds at age of 21, the child or children of my daughter Burnap (who hath had her full portion already) at age of 18. Dated 24 Jan., 1662/3. Proved 4 May, 1663. (Essex Probate Records, vol. i, p. 410.)

Isaack Burnap of Salem, husbandman, consideration £37 to Robert Stone and William King of Salem, land

formerly given by Salem to Mr. Batter, called Mr. Batter's plaine, bounded south by Batter, east by Thomas Goldthrite, which he bought of Batter, west by William Lord, sr., northwest by Ellen Robinson, 30 March, 1664, signed also by Elizabeth (sic), wife of Isaac Burnup. Acknowledged, 7 Nov., 1664. (Essex Deeds, vol. vi, p. 78.)

Isaack Burnap of Salem, husbandman, consideration £110, to Obadiah Antrum, halfe of farme that I now live upon, fouer score acres, one-halfe the houseing, etc., which I lately bought of my father-in-law Thomas Antrum, lately deceased, except twenty acres, lately sold by me to Mr. King and John Stone by the great swamp. (Hannah, his wife, consents) 11 June, 1664. Ysaac Burnup, Hannah Burnup (a mark). Witnesses, Hilliard Veren, Eliezar ——. (Ipswich Deeds, vol. iv, p. 489.)

Inventory of the estate of Obediah Antrum. Administration to Martha, the widow, she to pay 30 li. to Hana, wife of Isaack Burnap, sister of the deceased. (Records of the Quarterly Courts, vol. iii, p. 377, November, 1666.)

Deed of sale, Robert Burnap, sr., Thomas Burnap, Robert Burnap, jr., of Redding, yeomen, Isaack Bullard of Dedham, Sarah Burnap of Redding, spinster; Robert, with consent of An his wife, Thomas, with consent of Mary his wife, Robert, jr., with consent of Sarah his wife, Isaack Bullard, with consent of An his wife, consideration, £117 : 10 : 0, to Elias Parkeman of Boston, quit-claim the halfe of farme, 50 acres, buildings, etc., in Salem, formerly in possession of Isaack Burnap, deceased, bounded east by Samuel Verye, west by Jeremiah Meachy and Frances Johnson, north by Thomas Goldthrite, south by the Towne Comon. 1 September, 1668; acknowledged 1 September, 1668. Recorded 19 January, 1668. (Essex Deeds, vol. iii, p. 47.)

Paid Ifaack Burnett, 6 June, 1662, 0 : 11 : 3. (Salem Town Records, vol. ii, p. 11.)

Town Meeting 4 (among entries for 1660). Bills given out, 1661, To Ifaack Burnape, 00 : 10 : 00. (Ibid, vol. ii, p. 21.)

Isaack Burnap v. Tho : James, for slander, withdrawn.

September, 1664, Salem. (Records of the Quarterly Courts, vol. iii, p. 190.)

Isaac Burnap died 18 September, 1667, and there is some indication that his wife died before the end of 1664 and that he married again Elizabeth —, unless the deed of that year is in error. If so, the second wife died before he did, and it seems more likely that the name of Elizabeth is a clerical error.

The will of Isaac Barnap: Isaack Barnap, weake in body, yet perfect in mind and memory, this 16th of the 11th mo. 1667. Honoured father Robert Barnap and brother Robert Barnap, executors; to my father, Robert Barnap, halfe of the halfe farme that lyeth within the bounds of Salim weh I bought of my father Antrum; to my two brothers and my two sisters the other halfe, viz. Brother Thomas and Brother Robert and to Sister Ann and to Sister Sarah. My two Brothers and my two Sisters shall pay out of their halfe, 12s., to my couson Thomas Burnap and five pounds to Thomas Burt. To my Sister Sarah Burnap a great prefs Cubbard that is at my farme at Salim.

Witnesses :	William Coudrey	The marke of
	Thomas Barnap	Isaacke Barnap

Proved 1 October, 1667.

Inventory, 18 September, 1667, lately deceased in Redding, taken by Ely Giles, John Giles, £111:07:04. Sworn to by Robert Burnap, sen^r, and Robert Barnap, jun^r, Executors. (Middlesex Probate Records, 3599, vol. ii, p. 109.)

NOTE:—Thomas Burt mentioned in the above will married Mary, daughter of John and Sarah (Burnap) Southwick. (No. 46.)

Child:—

7. ISAAC, under 21 in 1622/3.

40. ANN BURNAP, baptized 15 April, 1632, at Great Amwell, Herts., was six years old when she came with her parents to New England. She married about 1653, John, son of Thomas and Alice Wight of the Isle of Wight. He was born in England, and died 28 September, 1653. (Savage's Genealogical Dictionary.)

Child—WIGHT :

ABIGAIL, born 1 Jan., 1653/4.

NOTE:—The will of John Witt, senior, 12 September, 1675 proved 28 March, 1676, mentions daughter Ann Burnitt. Savag makes it "Barney" and does not appear to have thought John Witt and John Wight were identical, but there seems some probability that they were.

Ann then married, 11 April, 1655, Isaac, born in England, son of William Bullard and his first wife. He died in 1676, his parents having settled in Dedham.

Children—BULLARD :

HANNAH, born 24 Feb., 1656.

SARAH, born 7 Jan., 1658.

SAMUEL, born 22 Dec., 1659.

JUDITH, or JUDAH, born 10 May, 1662.

EPHRA, born 20 July, 1664; died young.

ANN, born 17 April, 1666.

JOHN, born 26 June, 1668; died young.

MARY, born 29 May, 1669.

WILLIAM, born 19 May, 1673; died 1676.

The widow married again, 18 March, 1685, David, born 20 November, 1664 (although he seems to have been very much younger than his wife, but it is so given by Savag), son of David and Sarah (Topliff) Goenes (Jones) of Dorchester. He died 18 June, 1691, and she died 1 March, 1695.

Child—JONES :

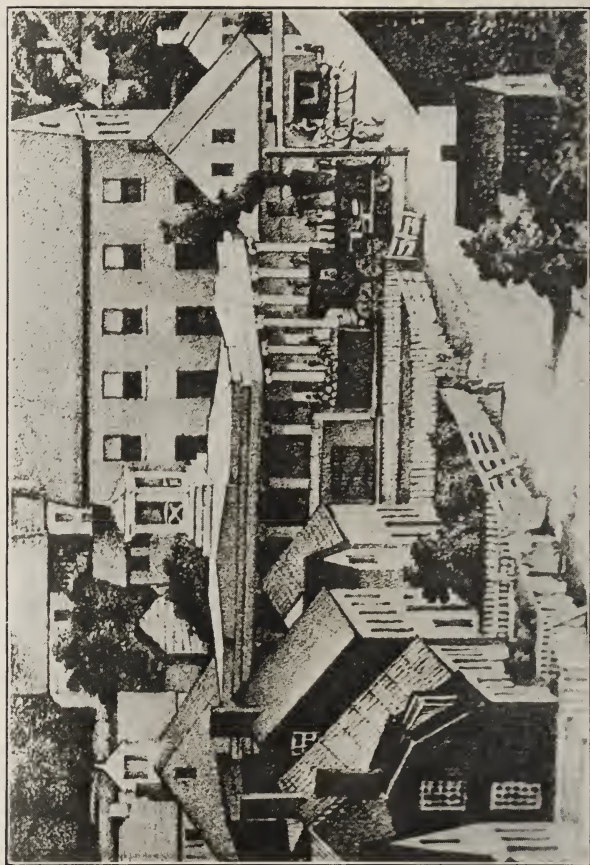
DAVID, born 18 July, 1689.

43. THOMAS BURNAP, probably born in this country, appears to have had a wife Mary, as does also his son Thomas, for in the deeds in 1715 and 1725 the name appears as Thomas, junior, with wife Mary, but little can be found which seems to be connected with him. He is mentioned in his father's will in 1688. It is probable his death which is in the Reading Vital Records undated of 15 April, 1691.

Child :—

78. THOMAS, living in 1725.

(To be continued)



BOSTON AND MAINE STATION, HAVERHILL
From a lithograph made in 1850

THE BOSTON AND MAINE RAILROAD.

HISTORY OF THE MAIN ROAD, WITH ITS TRIBUTARY LINES.

BY FRANCIS B. C. BRADLEE.

(Continued from Vol. LVII, page 56.)

The first of the present railroad labor unions was the brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, organized May 8, 1863, at Detroit, Michigan. A New England division was formed during the following December at Lebanon, N. H., by the engineers of the Northern Railroad of New Hampshire. The engineers of the various roads entering Boston united to form Boston Division, No. 61, on January 6, 1865. The order of Railway Conductors was first organized at Mendota, Ill., in the spring of 1868, and, until 1878, was known as the Conductors' Brotherhood. Not until 1884 did this Order spread to New England, when Boston Division, No. 122, was organized on July 10 of that year. At first, in New England, the brotherhoods were purely social and charitable organizations, but during the hard times following the panic of 1873 the brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers brought pressure to bear on some of the roads for higher pay. During the course of 1877 there were serious strikes on the Pennsylvania and the Baltimore and Ohio systems. On January 5, 1876, the directors of the Boston and Maine ordered a ten per cent. reduction in the wages of all employees. At that time the engineers were receiving \$3.50 per day, and if they ran any one month without having an accident for which they were responsible, they received a bonus of twenty-five cents per day for the entire month, which made their pay \$3.75 per day. The ten per cent. cut would have reduced their wages to \$3.37 1-2 per day, but the directors decided to make it \$3.40. It was also promised that when general business conditions improved the original rate of pay would be restored. The engineers were dissatisfied, and as the enginemen on other Boston roads were paid \$3.50 per day, they wanted the same rate, but the directors of the Boston and Maine ruled

that they could not, in justice to the other employees, give their engineers any preference. Dissatisfaction began at once, and the engineers' committee had many conferences with the management, at which the situation was fully discussed.

The directors were firm in the stand they had taken and the enginemen, failing to get their request granted called upon the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, to which they all belonged, to take the case up with the management of the railroad. The late P. M. Arthur, for many years chief of the Brotherhood, came to Boston in the interest of the engineers, but the directors refused to deal with him or any committee from the Grand Lodge and said they would deal only with a committee of their own men. At this time the president of the Boston and Maine was Nathaniel G. White of Lawrence, and the directors were George C. Lord, Amos Paul (a former engineer on the road), Nathaniel J. Bradlee, William S. Stevens, James R. Nichols, John Felt Osgood, Samuel F. Spring and Nathaniel W. Farwell. Mr. Arthur, soon after, ordered the engineers to strike. Thereupon their committee notified the Boston and Maine management on February 12, 1877, at 2 P. M., that unless their demands were granted, they would strike at 4 P. M., and that the firemen would leave work with them. However, Superintendent Furber had been busy for some time in hiring engineers and firemen to take the places of his men should they strike. The men, 137 all told, did go out at 4 P. M. and remained with their engines until 6 P. M., and the "dumped" their fires and let the water out of their boilers and tanks. Some of them gave up their locomotives in good condition without making trouble for the men who took their places; others uncoupled their engines from the trains between stations and ran them back and forth so as to prevent anyone from taking their places, and when they finally abandoned their locomotives they were without fires or water. The substitute engineers had been riding on the passenger trains for some time previous to the strike, learning the road and the operation of the trains. As soon as the notice was given that the strike would take place arrangements were made to sidetrack

freight trains. On the night of February 12 train service was badly demoralized, but the railroad managed to keep a few moving, and by so doing many passengers reached home.

The next day more trains were in operation, and by the end of the week a distinct improvement was made. People who usually patronized the Boston and Maine, returned home by the Boston and Lowell or Eastern roads, when convenient to do so. The engineers who took the places of the strikers were competent men, having been employed on other roads, and at that time were out of work on account of the poor business conditions then prevailing all over the country. It would appear strange that other engineers in good standing should be willing to work against the strikers, but in many cases they had a grievance against the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers on account of having been refused membership and for other reasons. At any rate none of the strikers were taken back by Superintendent Furber. Many of them were hired by the Eastern Railroad as firemen and started over again at the bottom of the ladder at \$1.80 per day. During the trouble it was feared that some of the other New England roads would be affected, but nothing materialized. This strike has been dealt with at length because it created a great deal of comment at the time. It has its historic significance by reason of its being one of the first railroad strikes in the country and the very first manifestation of trouble in New England, where the brotherhoods took root very slowly.

Forty years ago, or even twenty years ago, railroading in New England was vastly different from what it is today. The roads were small, the officials knew all the men and called many of them by their first names; this created a feeling of solidarity which, today, is conspicuous by its absence. In those days the runs were not as a present bid for by the men, seniority prevailing; all the crews were assigned their runs by the superintendent or master mechanic respectively. The time-table, taking effect on June 19, 1882, shows that the Boston and Maine then ran fifty-four passenger and freight trains on the

main line each way on week days; on Sundays eleven trains each way were run.

In 1883 the Kennebunkport Branch Railroad, four and one-half miles long, was built to connect Kennebunk with the main road of the Boston and Maine with the former seaside town. It was leased to the parent road on May 1, 1883, and opened for business on June 18 of the same year.

Very few of the employees of what was called the "Boston and Maine," before all the consolidations took place, are in active service today. One of the best known of these is J. E. Alger, a former engineer, who retired in October, 1918. A recent communication of his, published in the Boston and Maine Bulletin for February, 1920, is well worth reproducing, as it mentions many "old-timers" familiar to travellers a generation or two ago, and also brings to light some interesting facts of days long gone by:—

OLD-TIMERS.

READING, MASS.

MR. JOHN ROURKE, Superintendent, Portland Division, Boston and Maine Railroad.

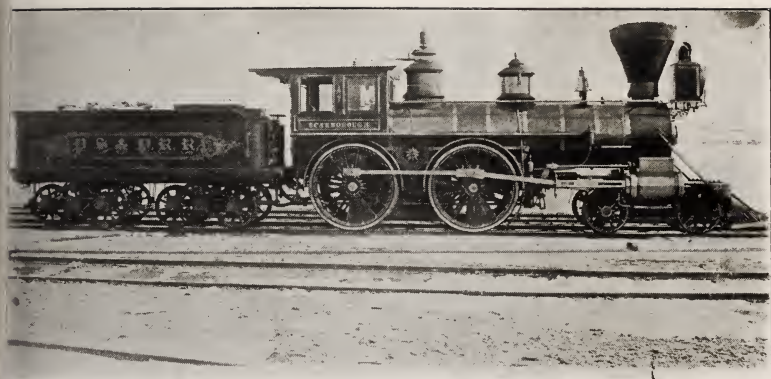
DEAR SIR: It has not been my privilege to meet you personally, still I have felt that, as my superior officer on the road, we had an acquaintanceship.

When a pension draft for the month came to me, I felt that I could not let it go by without an acknowledgment of the receipt of it.

My service on the Boston & Maine Railroad has been a fairly long and very pleasant one. I recall the faces of men who first met me in Superintendent Furber's office, February 10th, 1877. I was then a novice at railroading, beginning in the Boston & Albany shop in Boston on November 30, 1868, firing January 13, 1873, and running July, 1874, on a narrow gauge railroad between Grafton Center and North Grafton on the B. & A. I helped build the engine house on the road at the shop of Jerome Wheelock in Worcester, Mass.

Born a railroad boy on March 28, 1850, and the record begun by my father in December, 1846, is still being carried on by my brother A. W. Alger, on the Boston & Maine.

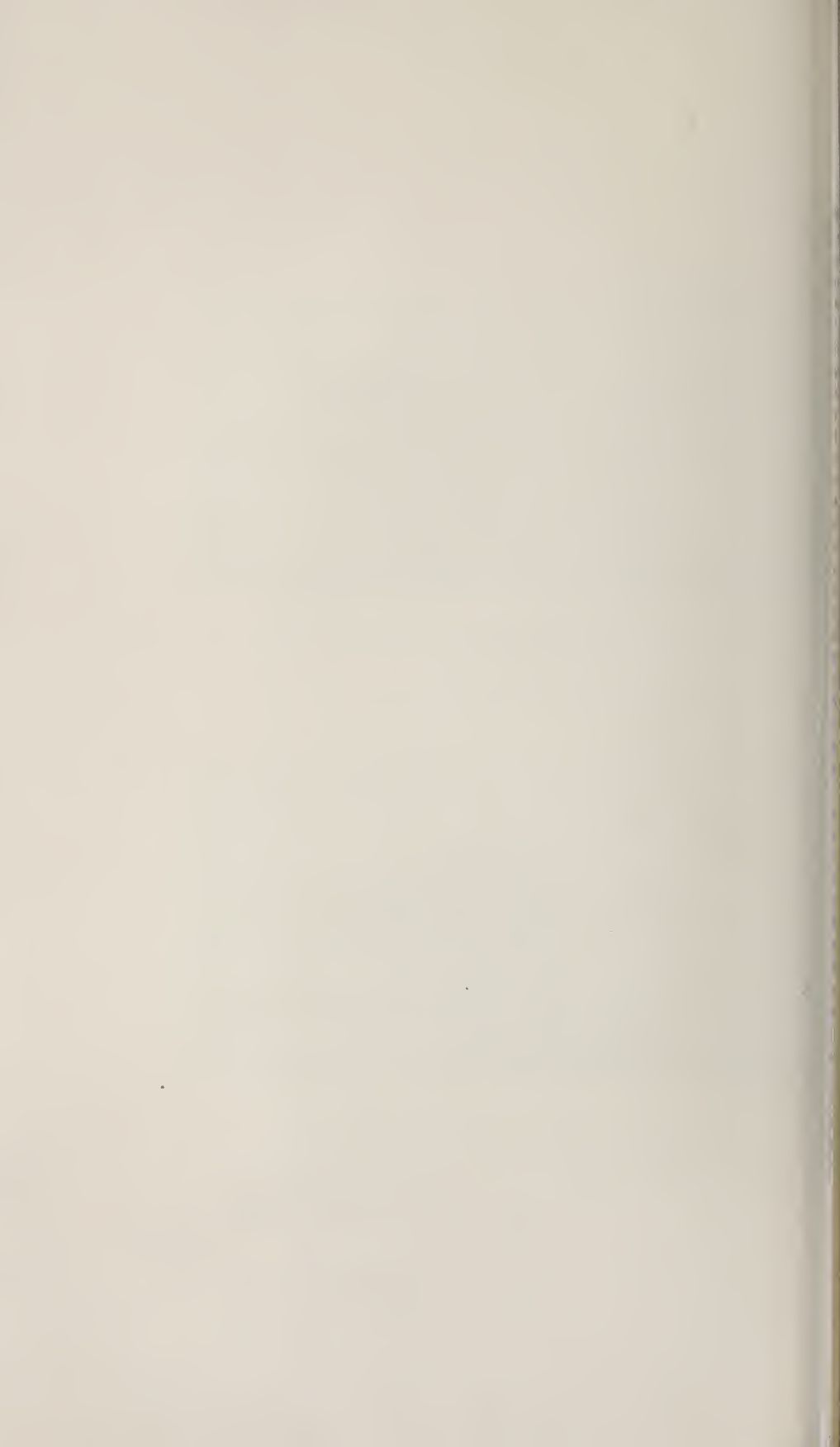
Two of the men I met in Mr. Furber's office, February 10, 1877, I meet occasionally, William Merritt, at that time assistant to Superintendent Furber, and John A. Meloney of Wakefield, Mass., a clerk in



PORTLAND, SACO AND PORTSMOUTH RAILROAD LOCOMOTIVE "SCARBOROUGH"
Built by the Portland Local Works in 1871



LOCOMOTIVE "GEN. GRANT"
Built by the Manchester Locomotive Works in 1867



office. All the others are gone, so far as I can find out. There are in service to-day only two that were in the old Haymarket Square station at that time: Charles H. Nowell, paymaster at that time, and Ash Bartlett, now in service at the North Station, or I should say the Terminal Division. I know of no others.

The oldest man in the train service to-day of the old Boston & Maine is Conductor George Lunt, who began in 1869, and was a baggage-master on a run in from Danvers in the morning, to Newburyport at 12.40 p. m., back to Boston and home to Danvers at night. John Bedell began in 1870, I think.

The conductors of that time have all passed on, so far as I can find out. Still, railroad men reappear sometimes, and there may be some living to-day. John Coombs was conductor of the train we brought into Boston the afternoon of February 12, 1877; Tom Finch and I, and George Lunt was baggage-master; John Estabrook was conductor of the 7 a. m. train for Lowell when I started out on February 13, and Ed. Barrett was baggage-master and pilot. John and I ran together until he was taken sick October 15, 1885. I had one or two different conductors for a time, and then had Ed. Barrett for a long time as regular conductor. John Estabrook rode out with us after the interlocking was installed at Wilmington Junction. He died on April 30, 1886. A nice man to run with. Harris Amazeen was the conductor on the 2.30 p. m. to Lowell. We got along well together, and I can see him now at Lowell Junction giving the motion and shouting out, "All right, Ed., go ahead, stop at the poorhouse and the graveyard"—Tewksbury and Cemetery.

Single track over the Lowell branch then. "Trains from Lowell have right of way over trains to Lowell ten minutes after their regular time of departure, and trains to Lowell can use five minutes of the ten." How we used to sail the train to make the double iron over the bridge crossing the Concord River down into the Central Street station. After Harris Amazeen got through I had George Stone and "Captain" Ricker for running mates. The old-time men were all right, but had their peculiarities. Joe Amazeen and Orrin Hamilton, running Portland trains, used to sport tall hats and ruffled shirt-bosoms. Albert Hamilton, on the Medford train, was not quite so sporty as his brother. William Plaisted, Ned Weymouth and George Wyatt were quieter men. William Carter and Skinner were on the Reading trains. Some of the names of the old conductors can be found as far back as 1849, Ansel Tucker among the passenger conductors and Hollis Smart freight conductor, \$50 and \$5 a month. Hollis Smart was a passenger conductor in 1851, at \$40 a month, and M. E. Wood appears on the list. He was in charge of Haymarket Square station in 1877. The name of William

Smith appears as engineman in 1851, \$55 a month. He was engine dispatcher in 1877, later master mechanic and superintendent of motive power; died in February, 1892.

And so, as the years pass by, we find new names creeping in and in May, 1857, Orrin Hamilton and William T. Plaisted were conducting trains, at a salary of \$58.33 1-3 a month. Augustus Colby, assistant to M. E. Wood, used to run as conductor on the Sunday train to Haverhill; two trains Sundays in 1877, the train from Great Falls in the morning, returning at 6 p. m., the 8 a. m. to Haverhill leaving on the return trip at 5.25 p. m., due in Boston 7 p. m. Any passengers for Boston along the line took that train home or stayed all night.

The locomotives were small when I came here to this road. The Portland No. 2, built in 1842, delivered to the road on March 1 thirteen tons weight, cylinders 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ x20, with one pair of drivers was doing passenger switching in Boston. There was a time when she hauled an express train. Newburyport No. 29, 23 tons, cylinders 14x22, built about 1860, the first locomotive I handled here, one time before I came to the road every third week used to make 158 miles a day. Reading to Boston, Boston to Newburyport and return, eight-car train, 6 p. m.; Boston to Lawrence, four stop forty-two minutes; Lawrence to Boston, Boston to Reading, and put up. Elbridge Smith, now living in Reading, seventy-eight years of age, was the engineer.

I think I had better stop my chatter. Of the boys who came here with me in February, 1877, but one remains in active service, E. Tucker. Not many more years for him now.

I wish in closing to thank you, and through you all in the passenger department who have so kindly borne with me while we have been co-laborers in the service of the Boston & Maine.

Hoping that, while my name has disappeared from the list of enginemen, some may still remember the "Deacon," I remain,

Sincerely yours,

J. E. ALGER.

While on the subject of reminiscences, the following little poem may be found amusing, for, with many apologies, it refers to South Berwick Junction, Maine. In the early 1870's, when the "war" between the Eastern and Boston and Maine roads was at its height, the former company, which then controlled the Portland, Saco and Portsmouth R. R., refused to wait for the B. and M. cars at South Berwick Junction, unless "they were in sight."

whistle heard." Hence many annoying delays occurred to innocent passengers. The newspapers of the time were filled with letters of protest from indignant travellers.

AT A RAILROAD JUNCTION.

BY EDMUND VANCE COOKE.

Lo ! Here am I at Junction Town !
At slow and woeful Junction Town,
Where devils laugh and angels frown
To see a traveller set down;
Where trains run only with a view
To help a restaurant or two;
Where rusty rails and barren boards
Are all the point of view affords.
But O, the barren board of all
Is that within that eating-stall !
Yes, stall, I said, and well deserved
The name ! where beastly feed is served.
And so I say without compunction
My curses on this Railroad Junction.

What shall I do at Junction Town ?
At drear and weary Junction Town ?
The martyr's cross without the crown
Awaits the stranger here set down.

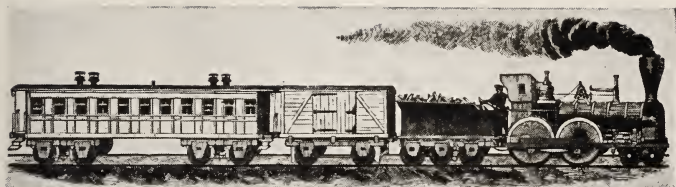
O, one may wait and wait and wait,
Or one may sail against his fate,
Or eyes and ears may strain and strain,
As later, later grows the train,
The while the lagging minutes mock
His witless watching of the clock;
Or one may watch the station clerk
Performing his relentless work.
O, wretched man, of wretched function,
Existing at this Railroad Junction.

God's pity on this Junction Town,
This dead and dreadful Junction Town !
O, what nepenthe-well can drown
The cares of travellers here set down ?
The thought may give some passing cheer,
One may escape within a year,
Or else the sentence be commuted

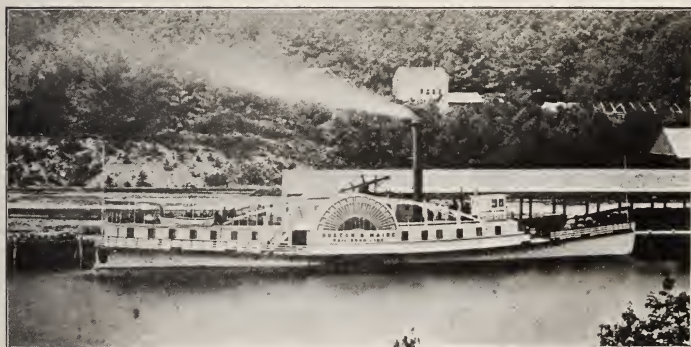
And only death be executed !
And if't be so, I only pray
There be no Resurrection Day,
For think of Gabriel coming down
And finding one at Junction Town !
And so I say with fervent unction,
God's pity on this Railroad Junction !

Early in the 1880's important changes took place in the management of the Boston and Maine; new interests entered the directory, and then began the policy which converted this small railroad controlling barely two hundred miles of track into a system comprising 4,250 miles. For a long time it had been felt that if the three railroads running in the same direction on the northern side of Boston—the Eastern, Boston and Maine and Boston and Lowell—could be consolidated into one corporation, it would secure a fair dividend to its stockholders, while saving to the community two-thirds of the cost required to maintain triplicate equipments and boards of directors. Unfortunately, instead of the wise policy of one corporation mentioned above, the system of leases was adopted in the various consolidations, and eventually the whole question became inextricably mixed up with Massachusetts and New Hampshire politics—some of it of a not very high order—and that, with financial jobbery, was partially responsible for the present practically bankrupt condition of the Boston and Maine.

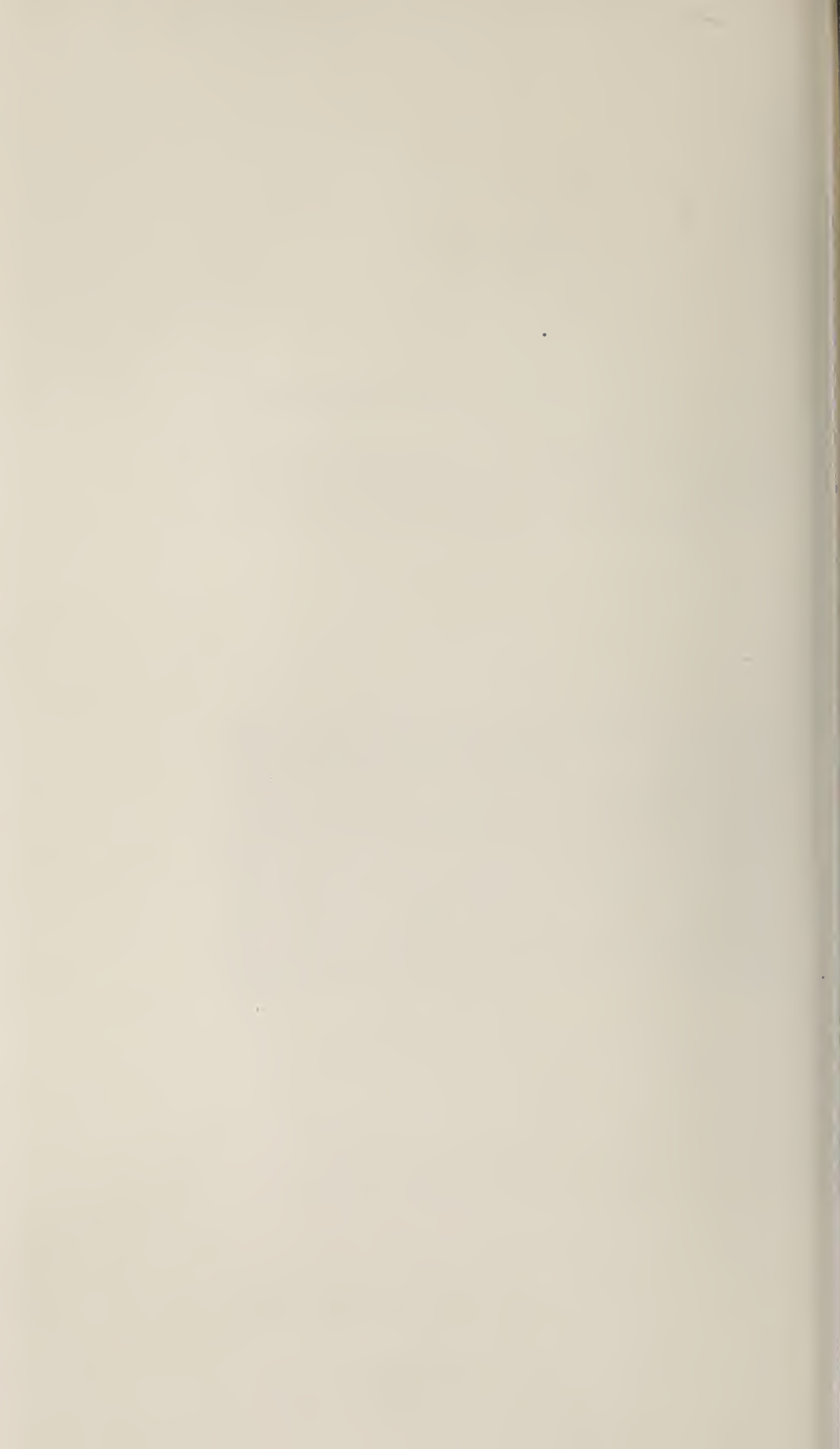
When the consolidation of the Eastern and Boston and Maine roads was first talked of it was generally assumed that the Eastern would take the lead and logically it should have done so, but the Boston and Maine was then much stronger financially. The lease was to have taken effect in October, 1883, but the whole project was bitterly fought by the minority stockholders of the Eastern. They carried the matter before the Massachusetts Supreme Court, which deemed the proposed lease invalid owing to a technicality. The next year a new lease, running for fifty-four years and conforming to the opinion of the court, was agreed upon by the directors and approved by the stockholders of both roads, and on December 2, 1884,



TYPE OF RAILROAD TRAIN OF ABOUT 1850 SHOWING THE
BAGGAGE CRATE



STEAMBOAT "DOVER," LAKE WINNEPESAUKEE
Built in 1852, afterwards named the "Chocorua."



he property was handed over to the lessee. Under the terms of the lease the Boston and Maine was to assume all the liabilities of the Eastern. The profits were to be divided pro rata between the two roads. No dividends were guaranteed on the Eastern stock. While the lease was ratified, twelve to one, by the Boston and Maine stockholders, it was only accepted by a five to one vote of the Eastern stockholders. It had always been the intention of those at the head of both roads that they eventually should be unified, the lease being considered a mere stepping-stone to that effect. Accordingly, in 1888, the required legislation was secured in Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Maine, and on May 9, 1890, the Eastern Railroad Company passed out of existence as a corporate body.

The stock was taken over on the basis of one share of Eastern for 83.28 per cent. of Boston and Maine stock, and the Portsmouth, Great Falls and Conway road was taken over on the same terms. By this consolidation and for other purposes, the Boston and Maine's capital was increased to \$18,738,300, and a special stock dividend of \$14.68 per share was paid May 24, 1890.

In 1885, the year after the taking over of the Eastern Railroad by the Boston and Maine, that company also leased the Worcester, Nashua and Rochester Railroad for fifty years, at a rental of \$250,000 per annum. The reason given for this further consolidation was that the line of the Worcester, Nashua and Rochester paralleled for some distance the main road of the Boston and Maine, but the transaction was a very good thing for the "insiders" who were understood to have been identified with the Boston and Maine management of that day and who had acquired the Worcester, Nashua and Rochester stock at very low prices. This lease occasioned a great deal of discussion, and there was some legislative inquiry, which, however, did not disturb the equanimity of those who had benefitted by the transaction that involved a stock dividend. However, the value of the acquisition to the Boston and Maine was so problematical that not a few shrewd observers predicted that it would be a case of loss offsetting victory.

In 1887, the Boston and Lowell Railroad had grown from a small line twenty-six miles long to be one of the large systems of New England; in fact, at this time it was generally referred to as the "Lowell System." By a system of leases its managers had endeavored to obtain possession of a complete line between Boston and Montreal, a project which, in its main features, seemed likely to succeed, until the New Hampshire Supreme Court broke it up, early in 1887, by refusing to ratify the lease of the Northern Railroad of New Hampshire to the Boston and Lowell. Thereupon, the directors of the Lowell road proposed a lease of their line and its allied roads to the management of the Boston and Maine, as they thought that the latter, by means of their already existing leases and contracts with other companies, would be better able than they to affect a consolidation of the "upper" roads. The lease was ratified by the stockholders of both lines, and took effect in June, 1887, but dated back to the previous April. It was to run for ninety-nine years; the Boston and Lowell stockholders were guaranteed dividends at the rate of seven per cent. yearly until 1897, and after that at the rate of eight per cent. The Boston and Lowell corporation was to assume the responsibility of its own leases.

This consolidation left practically only two independent railroads of any size in New Hampshire; the Concord road between Nashua and Concord and in which the State of New Hampshire owned an interest, and the Boston, Concord and Montreal road, which itself was controlled by the Concord Railroad. In September, 1889, both these corporations were united in one new one, called the Concord and Montreal Railroad. This road did not fall into the Boston and Maine "maw" until 1895.

The late eighties and early nineties were, in fact, an exceptionally interesting period in the history of this railroad property. There were various changes in large blocks of stock, a number of new influences, from time to time, being projected into the enterprise. The management was subjected to a good deal of contemporary criticism, and even to-day is subject to not a little censure, though some of the most prominent figures have

long since departed from the stage. But after everything is said, the fact remains that it was at that time that the Boston and Maine emerged from a state of parochialism into one of national importance.

It was in 1892-3 that the late A. A. McLeod, a well-known Wall street speculator, had a short but well remembered career in New England railroading. He had gotten control of the old New York and New England Railroad, always in a state of chronic bankruptcy. He also made himself the president of the Boston and Maine, and proposed a scheme which should give Boston new connections with the West,—with these roads as the means, and using the Poughkeepsie bridge. Mr. McLeod was not so powerful as the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad, then just beginning to stretch its arms outside of its domain, the State of Connecticut. Before he could develop his plan, Mr. McLeod went down before reorganization, and from the flurry there emerged bondholders producing the New England Railroad in 1895, with the New York and New Haven owning the bonds. In 1898, the New Haven leased the road, but since that nearly all the stock had been exchanged, so to-day the old “narrow escape” road, as it was always nicknamed, has not the semblance of individuality. Mr. McLeod’s dream of 1893 has been realized by the New Haven, through its ownership of the New England Railroad and the Poughkeepsie bridge route.

The most spectacular accomplishment of Mr. McLeod was the capture by the Boston and Maine of the Connecticut River Railroad in 1892. This corporation, with a paying property and a surplus of \$1,000,000 in the treasury, was coveted by the New York and New Haven. The directors of that road had completed an arrangement with the Connecticut River board, whereby the line was to be leased to the New Haven, which only needed ratification by the stockholders, and this had been apparently assured. Three or four days before the Connecticut River stockholders’ meeting, Mr. McLeod and a party of influential friends canvassed the owners of the Connecticut River road and gathered up a control of the shares. They took

it from the extended hand of the New Haven and secured it to the Boston and Maine on a ten per cent. rental, with the \$1,000,000 surplus divided among the shareholders. The New Haven people never forgave McLeod for his *coup*, and they punished him by ousting him from the New York and New England, and later used their influence in retiring him from the presidency of the Boston and Maine. The late Lucius Tuttle succeeded him in that office and managed to steer the Boston and Maine successfully through the lean years that followed the panic of 1893; in fact, in one of the annual reports issued during the hard times, Mr. Tuttle declared that the leased lines were earning their rentals, a significant statement considering the acute conditions then prevailing.

With the acquisition of the Boston and Lowell system, the Boston and Maine fell heir to the political contest in New Hampshire, with the Concord and Montreal Railroad as an opponent; finally, however, the latter succumbed, and in 1895 was leased to the Boston and Maine for ninety-nine years, at seven per cent. annual rental.

Having absorbed all the connecting lines in New Hampshire, the Boston and Maine in 1900 was ready for more aggression in Massachusetts, and after a spirited opposition, took over the Fitchburg Railroad under a lease guaranteeing five per cent. dividends on the latter's preferred stock. The opponents of the lease asserted, with a good deal of reason, that the Boston and Maine as a monopoly had for some time been a deterrent to commercial enterprises in its territory, charging higher passenger and freight rates than the Fitchburg did as an independent road. It was also shown that the Boston and Maine had done little or nothing towards developing the foreign export trade of Boston; the Fitchburg, a small road compared to its competitor, had itself contributed no less than fifty-nine per cent. of the foreign exports from Boston.

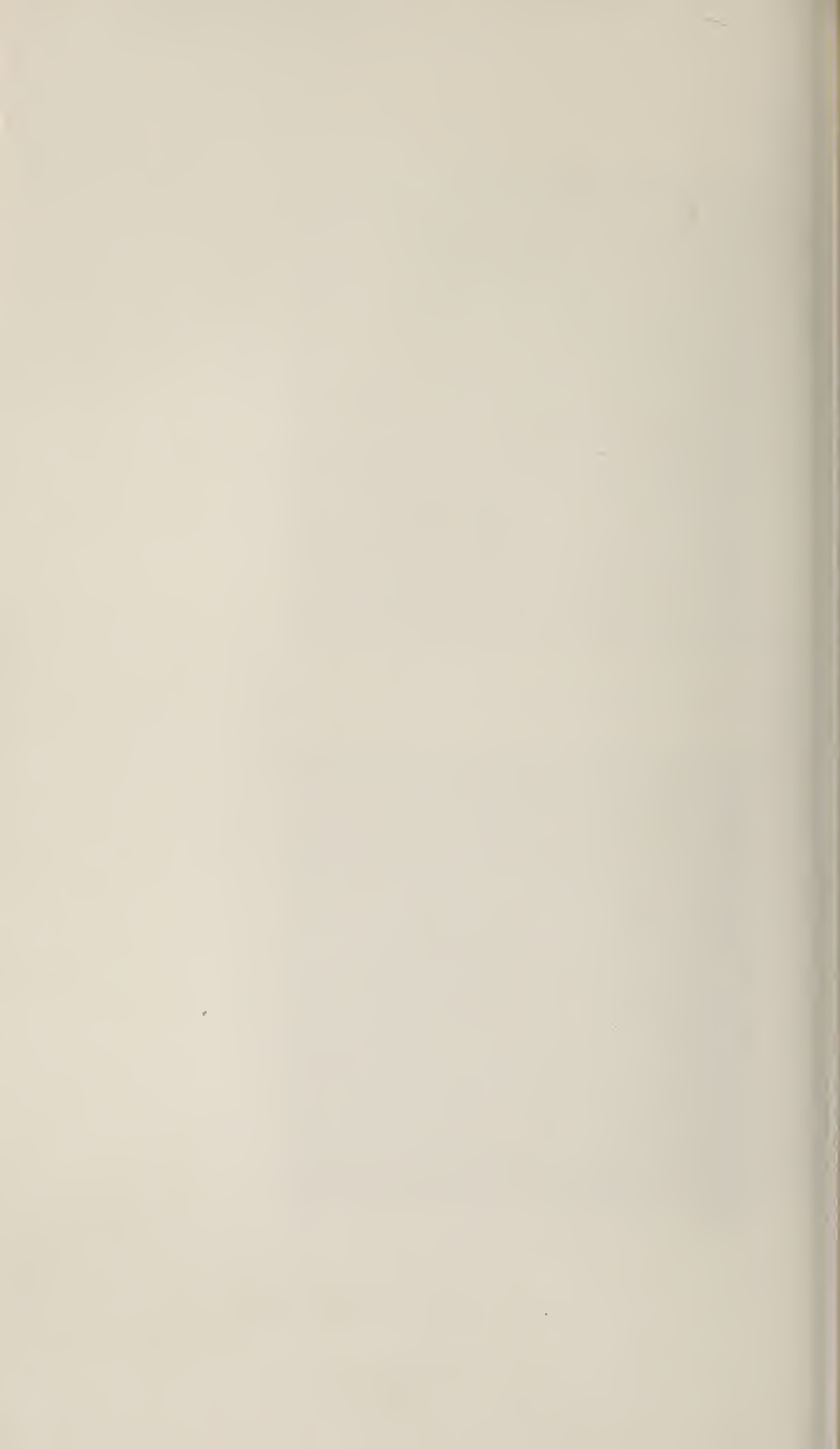
With the lease of the Fitchburg to the Boston and Maine, the State of Massachusetts straightened out its affairs as an owner of railroads, for the Commonwealth held practically all the common stock of the Fitchburg Railroad, issued in payment for the Hoosac Tunnel and



EASTERN RAILROAD LOCOMOTIVE "CONWAY"
at Old Orchard Station, Maine



HOOSAC TUNNEL UNDER CONSTRUCTION, 1871



the Troy and Greenfield Railroad. The original Fitchburg Railroad, upon its purchase of the franchise of the Charlestown Branch Railroad, from Boston to West Cambridge, was constructed to the city which gave it its corporate designation ; it was opened to Waltham in 1842, and completed in its entire length in 1845.

As a part of the low grade through road across the State, the Vermont and Massachusetts was built from Fitchburg to Greenfield, but as the Hoosac mountain was an apparently impenetrable barrier to a complete line, the Vermont and Massachusetts was built to Brattleboro, Vermont. As soon as the opening of the Hoosac tunnel was imminent, the Fitchburg leased the Vermont and Massachusetts in 1874, and with it secured rights through the tunnel with several other companies. Soon afterward the section of the road from Miller's Falls to Brattleboro, Vermont, was sold to the New London Northern Railroad.

A company of men in 1848 took up the Hoosac Tunnel project, which had been agitated periodically since 1825, when it was proposed to bore through the range for a canal. The Troy and Greenfield Railroad was the corporate name of the tunnel road, and from 1848 until 1887 there was hardly a session of the Massachusetts Legislature which did not consider some action affecting this road. The State made its first advance to the Troy and Greenfield in 1854, and time and again more money was furnished until the work was abandoned by the contractors, whose ingenuity and resources failed to pierce the rock. In 1862, after being refused what was considered a reasonable demand, the stockholders of the Troy and Greenfield finally gave up the task and abandoned the road. The Commonwealth of Massachusetts, which had advanced \$778,695, took possession. At that time the road had been practically constructed from Greenfield to the east entrance of the tunnel and from the west side of the Hoosac mountain to the Vermont State line. The State inherited the Southern Vermont Railroad, which traversed the southwest corner of Vermont to connect with the Troy and Greenfield.

State millions rehabilitated the railroad, the Southern Vermont was leased to the Troy and Boston—a new corporation formed to operate the old Troy and Greenfield road—in perpetuity, for a rental of \$12,000 annually, and trains were operated on both sides of the mountain, passengers being driven over the summit in stage-coaches to make connections. In 1868, the Shanlys, a Montreal contracting firm, undertook the completion of the tunnel, and on November 27, 1873, daylight penetrated through the hole in the mountains. About a year later the tunnel was ready for trains, and with a State manager,—Jeremiah Prescott, formerly superintendent of the Eastern Railroad,—to maintain the property and handle its movement of trains, the Fitchburg, Troy and Boston, Boston, Hoosac Tunnel and Western, and the New Haven and Northampton Railroads paid tolls sufficient to meet expenses and the interest, and, in part, the sinking fund of the debt of nearly \$14,000,000 which the State had incurred. The Commonwealth of Massachusetts ran the road in this fashion until 1887, when the Fitchburg absorbed the Boston, Hoosac Tunnel and Western, whose road ran from Rotterdam Junction, N. Y., to the Vermont and Massachusetts line, and the Troy and Boston, and purchased the State-owned Troy and Greenfield. The Fitchburg Railroad, in payment for the Troy and Greenfield and the Hoosac Tunnel, issued to the State \$5,000,000 in fifty-year bonds and \$5,000,000 in common stock, which latter paid no dividends.

In 1900, upon the lease of the Fitchburg, the Boston and Maine bought the common stock from the State, and Massachusetts then became only a bondholder. It was during this period that such outside interests as the Pullman Company and the American Express Company acquired large holdings in the Boston and Maine. This fact is also of more than academic interest, as it was the American Express Company's holdings that the New York, New Haven and Hartford acquired, when, in 1907, it began to secure control of the Boston and Maine. During the first few years of the present century, also, the railroad brotherhoods, hitherto a negligible quantity in New England, began to press for and receive higher

vages and better working conditions. This added expense, together with the almost crushing dead weight of the rentals of the leased roads, soon began to tell on the Boston and Maine and was reflected in the stock market by the constant decrease in the value of its stock. It was then that the management may be said to have committed its greatest error; instead of reducing or altogether passing its seven per cent. dividend on the common stock and putting most of its earnings in the up-keep of the road, which sadly needed the same, the usual interest was kept up long after ordinary prudence should have dictated its reduction. How much the late President Tuttle was responsible for this state of things is a debatable question. However, for years the spectacle was witnessed of worn-out equipment vieing with an equally "gone to seed" road bed. Even some of the principal bridges and trestles on the system were a constant source of jokes to the initiated that would have been very funny indeed had there not existed so many tragic possibilities.

Another feature which has always characterized the Boston and Maine is the extremely old-fashioned way in which the road was operated practically. As other railroads were taken over by it and run as divisions, the operating rules in force when the particular road was run independently were generally retained. Sometimes these conflicted with rules used on other parts of the Boston and Maine system, with resultant confusion. For example, on the Fitchburg Railroad a white light was used for safety, but on the Boston and Maine a green signal meant safety. When the Fitchburg was taken over in 1900, the Boston and Maine made no change, so that for some years a most dangerous condition of affairs existed, particularly at Boston, Greenfield, Bellows Falls, and other places where the two lines were interwoven. Until after the terrible Baker's Bridge accident on the Fitchburg division, in October, 1905, when an express ran into a slowly moving accommodation train, with the loss of many lives, block signals were practically unknown on the Boston and Maine system, except, perhaps, when nearing Boston. It may be conceded that nowadays many trains particularly passenger trains, are over-manned, but twen

ty or more years ago many of the Boston and Maine passenger trains were as badly under-manned. The author can testify to the fact that, in 1901, he was on a long passenger train, far behind time, and when nearing Boston, close to the old Boston and Maine paint shop in Charlestown, then considered one of the most dangerous spots on the road, the train was for some reason stopped. The only brakeman had been sent back with a danger signal some time before. Another following train was close behind, and there seemed to be no one at hand to warn it, when the American Express messenger seized a red flag and ran back as fast as he could and was believed to have averted a bad collision. The phrase so often heard, "Boston and Maine luck," may be said to signify a good deal more than is implied by the empty words.

In 1907, occurred the event which in the last few years has been discussed more than any other in connection with Boston and Maine affairs,—namely, the purchase of the control of the Boston and Maine by the New York New Haven and Hartford. It is needless to discuss this transaction at length, as the particulars are still fresh in the public mind. It is sufficient to say that under an agreement with the Department of Justice of the United States, it was arranged for the New Haven Company to transfer to five trustees its holdings in the Boston and Maine, which had been previously segregated into a corporation known as the Boston Railroad Holding Company to be sold under the order of the court. These holdings consist of 6,543 shares of the preferred stock and 219,188 shares of the common stock of the Boston and Maine Railroad.

The legality of the New Haven's purchase and its advisability from the point of view of public interest have been hotly debated. There existed, also, a bitter and fast-growing feeling of discontent throughout New England that almost its entire transportation system should be under the control of New York capitalists. On February 7, 1914, the United States Senate passed a resolution authorizing the Interstate Commerce Commission to investigate and report upon the financial transactions of the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad Com-



"WALKER HOUSE" STATION OF THE B. AND M.
Commercial Street, Portland, 1873-1889
Originally a hotel, now a Railroad Y. M. C. A.

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pany. The Interstate Commerce Commission reported that the purchase of Boston and Maine control by the New Haven was illegal under the Massachusetts laws, and, without serious doubt, under the Federal anti-trust law.

As regards the purchase from the point of view of public interest, it was shown that the downward movement of the Boston and Maine stock did not begin seriously until the New Haven management was forced upon the road; that the depreciation of the Boston and Maine stock after coming into control of the New Haven was rapid; that "the financial strength of the Boston and Maine, which had been made manifest for more than half a century [there seems reason to doubt the entire correctness of the latter statement, especially as applied to later years], was converted into financial weakness in half a decade after passing into the control of men who had the reputation of being eminent financiers;" that the management of the Boston and Maine by the New Haven was unwise, beginning in illegality and in a lust for extended monopoly, and resulting in great depreciation and serious impairment of credit. It would be an interesting task to examine these statements carefully and minutely in the light of the previous history of the road.

In the meantime had come the financial crash of the New Haven system, which dragged the Boston and Maine down with it, resulting in the demoralization of transportation and the ruin and distress of many persons heretofore in comfortable circumstances all over New England. Mr. Charles S. Mellen of the New Haven, who had succeeded Mr. Tuttle in 1909 as president of the Boston and Maine, retired in 1913, and his place was taken, for a short time, by Mr. James McDonald, president of the Maine Central Railroad, and a few months later Mr. James H. Hustis was elected president. Matters soon went from bad to worse, and it became increasingly evident that the road would be unable in the long run to pay its enormous burden of guaranteed dividends to the leased lines. In the case of a break-up of the Boston and Maine system there was much speculation about the Boston and Lowell Railroad becoming once more inde-

pendent. In fact, this road, with its leases of a through line to Canada, its ownership of forty per cent. of the Boston Union Station, the East Cambridge freight terminals, and the Mystic wharf property, was rather considered to have been the "tail which wagged the dog."

During the first years of the European war and before this country entered the struggle, business recovered from the depression of 1913-14 and an era of good times set in, in which the railroads participated. In the twelve months ending in August, 1916, the Boston and Maine, in spite of its heavily waterlogged condition, earned 9.81 per cent. on its common stock, against less than nothing the year before. Several schemes of reorganization were brought forward, but, as often, came to nothing, owing to the attitude of the leased roads, which refused to accept a reduced rental, and in the meantime the Boston and Maine had, by order of the court, lost its fifty-one per cent. stock control of the Maine Central Railroad, acquired as far back as 1885, when they had taken over the Eastern Railroad. Finally, as the best way out of an apparently hopeless situation, the Boston and Maine Railroad was, on August 23, 1916, petitioned into bankruptcy by the Intercontinental Rubber Company of New Jersey. The court appointed President James H. Hustis receiver.

It was generally expected that the leased lines' dividends would be at once reduced, but it was not found expedient to do this. Then came the entry of the United States into the war, followed by the period of government operation of the railroads, which certainly did not tend to the improvement of the Boston and Maine system. Towards the end of the government control, the present plan of Boston and Maine reorganization was, after many delays, finally accepted and put through. This scheme which met with Director-General McAdoo's approval and co-operation, was, briefly, as follows: The Boston and Maine was to be consolidated into one compact system eliminating many of the leased lines; stockholders of the leased lines were given the right to exchange their holdings into preferred stock of the Boston and Maine proper which bears four-fifths of the dividend rate formerly paid on the leased-line stocks, for the next five years, and the

full dividend rate thereafter. It is believed that this will reduce the fixed charges upon the system by \$2,500,000 per annum, laying a foundation for the flotation of a new mortgage, securing, on equal terms, all outstanding bonds and notes, and providing a good margin of safety for new issues. The Government will advance \$20,000,000 in cash, meanwhile, and a further issue of \$12,000,000 preferred may be raised during the next five years to repay the amount now advanced. This plan was agreed to by a very large majority of the stockholders of the leased lines as well as of the Boston and Maine itself, with the result that many of the old corporations went out of existence and their stockholders exchanged their shares, par for par, into new preferred of the Boston and Maine, increasing the outstanding amount by \$38,817,900.

The lines directly leased to the Boston and Maine comprise the Boston and Lowell, Concord and Montreal, Connecticut River, Fitchburg, Lowell and Andover, Manchester and Lawrence, and Kennebunk and Kennebunkport. The bonds of both the Boston and Maine and the leased lines will remain as they are. The \$13,000,000 of short term notes whose renewal proved so bothersome a few years ago, will be met from the proceeds of the \$20,000,000 cash advanced by the Government. What the future will bring to the Boston and Maine no one can, of course, predict, but just now the situation is far from cheering. The vicissitudes of the road have been many and quite unlike those of the newer western lines. The Boston and Maine should have millions spent on its road-bed and bridges ; it needs new equipment of every kind, particularly locomotives and cars. Some of its stations are a disgrace. In the writer's opinion, also, the company is heavily burdened with an overplus of officials, particularly minor ones. A reduction of these, if accomplished, would also mean a much needed paring down of the clerical force. There exists, too, a great want of cooperation in the various departments, particularly in the operating department. If a sudden flurry or accident arises, it seems to be, "every man for himself and the devil for us all."

The Portland Division, with its 530 odd miles of track is a consolidation of the old Eastern and Western Divisions. In the interest of safety and efficient management it should be divided ; 530 miles of road is too much for one man to supervise properly, and it is also far too much for the train and engine crews, particularly the latter, to know *properly*. With conservative and efficient management, however, the Boston and Maine, serving as it does a thickly populated district of New England, should, in years to come, become one of the country's great transportation systems.



BOSTON, CONCORD AND MONTREAL RAILROAD
LOCOMOTIVE "MT. WASHINGTON," NO. 29
Built in the 1870's to draw trains to base of Mt. Washington



APPENDIX 1.

FLUCTUATIONS AND DIVIDENDS OF THE COMMON STOCK OF THE
BOSTON AND MAINE RAILROAD FROM 1838 TO 1920. PAR, \$100.

Year	Highest	Lowest	Dividend Per cent.
1838	*\$3.00
1839	85	*\$6.00
1840	43½	*\$3.50
1841	80	74	*\$5.50
1842	86	75	*\$6.50
1843	106	82	6
1844	109	102¾	6
1845	117	107¼	7
1846	114½	107¾	7
1847	118¼	108	7½
1848	119	106	9½
1849	109½	100	4
1850	107¾	101	8½
1851	106½	102	5½
1852	110	102	7
1853	109¼	102	7½
1854	105¼	92	8
1855	101½	83¾	7
1856	84	74½	6
1857	87	73½	6
1858	100¼	77	6
1859	107	96¾	7½
1860	112½	102	8
1861	115½	100¼	7½
1862	129	105	6
1863	135½	121	8
1864	141	124	8
1865	126½	106	8
1866	133	115	9
1867	138½	125	10
1868	141¾	131	10
1869	146	132½	10
1870	153	140	10
1871	155¼	138	8
1872	147	124	10
1873	127	101	8
1874	116	101¾	8

*Andover, Wilmington and Haverhill R. R.

Year	Highest	Lowest	Dividend Per cent.
1875	124 $\frac{3}{4}$	105 $\frac{1}{2}$	8
1876	110	91 $\frac{1}{2}$	6
1877	100 $\frac{1}{8}$	87	5
1878	110	96 $\frac{1}{2}$	6
1879	120 $\frac{1}{2}$	108 $\frac{5}{8}$	6
1880	150 $\frac{2}{8}$	119	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
1881	165 $\frac{1}{8}$	145	8
1882	158 $\frac{3}{8}$	139 $\frac{1}{4}$	8
1883	167	148 $\frac{3}{4}$	8
1884	167	145	8
1885	185 $\frac{1}{2}$	166 $\frac{1}{2}$	8
1886	212	181	9
1887	239	207 $\frac{1}{2}$	10
1888	216	175	9
1889	216	152	9
1890	235	188	9 $\frac{1}{2}$
1891	209 $\frac{1}{2}$	157	9
1892	185 $\frac{3}{4}$	159	8
1893	178	130	8
1894	162	126	6
1895	180	160	6
1896	171	149	6
1897	170	156 $\frac{1}{4}$	6
1898	200	160	7
1899	210	170	7
1900	202 $\frac{1}{2}$	187	7
1901	200	189	7
1902	209	190 $\frac{1}{2}$	7
1903	195	161	7
1904	175 $\frac{1}{2}$	158	7
1905	185 $\frac{1}{2}$	158	7
1906	180 $\frac{1}{2}$	160	7
1907	170	129	7
1908	140	114	7
1909	153	132 $\frac{1}{4}$	7
1910	152	118	7
1911	122 $\frac{3}{8}$	96 $\frac{1}{2}$	7
1912	100 $\frac{1}{2}$	94	4
1913	97	35	4
1914	55	30 $\frac{1}{2}$	none
1915	37 $\frac{1}{2}$	20	none
1916	52	34	none
1917	45	15	none
1918	40	19	none
1919	38 $\frac{1}{2}$	28	none

APPENDIX 2.

COMPONENT PARTS FORMING THE PRESENT BOSTON AND MAINE SYSTEM.

Old Boston and Maine Railroad.

Boston and Maine
 Boston and Portland
 Andover and Haverhill
 Andover and Wilmington
 Boston and Maine Extension
 Danvers Railroad
 Dover and Winnepesaukee
 Kennebunk and Kennebunkport
 Lowell and Andover
 Manchester and Lawrence
 Medford Branch
 Methuen Branch
 Newburyport Railroad
 Georgetown Branch
 Orchard Beach Railroad
 Portland and Rochester Railroad
 York and Cumberland Railroad

Eastern Railroad System.

Eastern Railroad proper
 Portland, Saco and Portsmouth
 Portsmouth, Great Falls and Conway
 Portsmouth and Dover
 Great Falls and South Berwick Branch
 Rockport Railroad
 South Reading Branch
 Marblehead and Lynn
 Wolfeboro Railroad
 Essex Branch
 Newburyport City Railroad
 Worcester and Nashua Railroad
 Nashua and Rochester Railroad
 Worcester, Nashua and Portland Railroad

Boston and Lowell System.

Boston and Lowell
 Nashua and Lowell
 Salem and Lowell
 Central Massachusetts
 Connecticut and Passumpsic Rivers
 Lexington and Arlington

Lowell and Lawrence
Manchester and Keene
Massawippi Valley
Middlesex Central
Peterboro Railroad
Stanstead Branch
Stoneham Branch
Stony Brook Railroad
Wilton Railroad
Boston, Concord and Montreal
Concord Railroad
Concord and Portsmouth
Nashua, Acton and Boston
Mystic River Railroad
Northern Railroad, N. H.
St. Johnsbury and Lake Champlain
Vermont Valley

Fitchburg System.

Fitchburg Railroad proper
Boston, Barre and Gardner
Boston, Hoosac Tunnel and Western
Brookline and Milford
Brookline and Pepperell
Cheshire Railroad
Hoosac Tunnel and Saratoga
Monadnock Railroad
Peterboro and Shirley
Southern Vermont Railway
Troy and Bennington
Troy and Boston
Troy and Greenfield and Hoosac Tunnel
Vermont and Massachusetts
Winchendon Railroad
White Mountains Railroad
New Boston Railroad
Pemigewasset Valley

York Harbor and Beach Railroad
Connecticut River Railroad
Mount Washington Railway
Sullivan County Railroad
Mechanicsville and Fort Edward.

APPENDIX 3.

LOCOMOTIVES OF THE BOSTON AND MAINE R. R. IN 1860.

Name	Weight	Diameter of driving wheels	Diameter of cylinders and length of stroke
Antelope	13 tons	5 ft. 6 ins.	$11\frac{3}{4}$ x 22 ins.
Angor	20 tons	5 ft. 6 ins.	14 x 18 ins.
Boston	20 tons	5 ft.	14 x 18 ins.
Bay State	24 tons	5 ft. 6 ins.	15 x 20 ins.
Billard Vale	20 tons	5 ft.	14 x 18 ins.
Checho	12 tons	5 ft.	12 x 18 ins.
Dragon	14 tons	4 ft. 6 ins.	$13\frac{1}{2}$ x 20 ins.
Dover	24 tons	4 ft. 6 ins.	15 x 20 ins.
Exeter	24 tons	4 ft. 6 ins.	15 x 20 ins.
Essex	24 tons	5 ft. 6 ins.	15 x 18 ins.
Granite State	24 tons	5 ft. 6 ins.	15 x 20 ins.
Hinkley	24 tons	5 ft. 6 ins.	15 x 20 ins.
Lawrence	23 tons	5 ft.	15 x 18 ins.
Massachusetts	22 tons	5 ft. 6 ins.	$14\frac{1}{4}$ x 18 ins.
Maine	25 tons	4 ft. 6 ins.	15 x 24 ins.
Malden	13 tons	5 ft. 6 ins.	$11\frac{1}{2}$ x 20 ins.
New Hampshire	25 tons	4 ft. 6 ins.	15 x 24 ins.
Norris	23 tons	5 ft. 6 ins.	15 x 22 ins.
Plymouth	20 tons	5 ft.	14 x 18 ins.
W. Bayley	24 tons	5 ft. 6 ins.	15 x 20 ins.
Portland	13 tons	5 ft. 3 ins.	$11\frac{1}{2}$ x 20 ins.
Reading	13 tons	5 ft.	$11\frac{1}{2}$ x 20 ins.
Rockingham	24 tons	4 ft. 6 ins.	15 x 24 ins.
Shermont	23 tons	4 ft. 6 ins.	15 x 20 ins.
Wampscott	14 tons	4 ft. 6 ins.	$13\frac{1}{2}$ x 20 ins.
United States	25 tons	5 ft.	15 x 24 ins.
Werrimack	25 tons	5 ft. 6 ins.	16 x 20 ins.
Thomas West	25 tons	5 ft. 6 ins.	16 x 20 ins.
Atlantic	25 tons	5 ft. 6 ins.	15 x 22 ins.
Pacific	26 tons	5 ft. 6 ins.	15 x 22 ins.
Mankee	23 tons	5 ft. 6 ins.	14 x 22 ins.
Newburyport	23 tons	5 ft. 6 ins.	14 x 22 ins.
Amilla	21 tons	5 ft.	14 x 20 ins.
Cystic	21 tons	5 ft.	14 x 20 ins.

APPENDIX 4.

LOCOMOTIVE ENGINES OF THE BOSTON AND MAINE R. R. IN 1885.

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| 1. Dragon. | 41. Gen. Grant. |
| 2. Portland. | 42. Gen. Sherman. |
| 3. Reading. | 43. Middlesex. |
| 4. Medford. | 44. Dover. |
| 5. Norris. | 45. Gen. Sheridan. |
| 6. Swampscott. | 46. N. G. Paul. |
| 7. Antelope. | 47. Achilles. |
| 8. Memecho. | 48. Suffolk. |
| 9. Massachusetts. | 49. Machigonne. |
| 10. New Hampshire. | 50. North Star. |
| 11. Maine. | 51. Saxon. |
| 12. Lawrence. | 52. Titan. |
| 13. Wannalancet. | 53. Mercury. |
| 14. Boston. | 54. Sachem. |
| 15. Ballardvale. | 55. Forest City. |
| 16. Essex. | 56. Francis Cogswell. |
| 17. Bay State. | 57. Minerva. |
| 18. Granite State. | 58. Wm. Merritt. |
| 19. Hinkley. | 59. Columbia. |
| 20. O. W. Bayley. | 60. Pepperell. |
| 21. Rockingham. | 61. Old Orchard. |
| 22. United States. | 62. Cumberland. |
| 23. Thomas West. | 63. Transport. |
| 24. Merrimac. | 64. Pilot. |
| 25. Atlantic. | 65. Samoset. |
| 26. Pacific. | 66. Decatur. |
| 27. Haverhill. | 67. Comet. |
| 28. Mystic. | 68. Casco. |
| 29. Newburyport. | 69. Escort. |
| 30. Camilla. | 70. J. C. Ayer. |
| 31. Andover. | 71. South Berwick. |
| 32. Durham. | 72. Lowell. |
| 33. Hercules. | 73. Saco. |
| 34. Exeter. | 74. S. A. Walker. |
| 35. Strafford. | 75. Malden. |
| 36. Alton Bay. | 76. Melrose. |
| 37. Hobart Clark. | 77. Wakefield. |
| 38. James Hayward. | 78. Eagle. |
| 39. Shawmut. | 79. Bradford. |
| 40. Lion. | 80. Danvers. |

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| 81. Biddeford. | 126. Beverly. |
| 82. Everett. | 127. Conway. |
| 83. Somerville. | 128. Byfield. |
| 84. Arlington. | 129. Augusta. |
| 85. Camp Ellis.* | 130. Conqueror. |
| 86. Bay View. | 131. Atherton. |
| 87. Newton. | 132. Bell Rock. |
| 88. Kingston. | 133. Carroll. |
| 89. Atkinson. | 134. Boxford. |
| 90. Plaistow. | 135. Seabrook. |
| 91. Kennebunk. | 136. John Howe. |
| 92. Madbury. | 137. Faulkner. |
| 93. Wilmington. | 138. Cape Ann. |
| 94. Newmarket. | 139. Peabody. |
| 95. Methuen. | 140. Chelsea. |
| 96. Rollinsford. | 141. Great Falls. |
| 97. Gen. Meade. | 142. Amesbury. |
| 98. —. | 143. Coheco. |
| 99. Hinkley. | 144. Huntress. |
| 100. Cradock. | 145. Wm. Smith. |
| 101. Maverick. | 146. Puritan. |
| 102. Gen. Hancock. | 147. Topsfield. |
| 103. Wenham. | 148. Hampton. |
| 104. Ipswich. | 149. Rowley. |
| 105. Penobscot. | 150. Point of Pines. |
| 106. Forbes. | 151. Madison. |
| 107. Union. | 152. Henry L. Williams. |
| 108. Lynnfield. | 153. Nahant. |
| 109. Mousam. | 154. Salem. |
| 110. Scarborough. | 155. Devereaux. |
| 111. Montrose. | 156. Portsmouth. |
| 112. Arundel. | 157. North Wind. |
| 113. Tiger. | 158. Farmington. |
| 114. Bonnebeag. | 159. America. |
| 115. Binney. | 160. Pilgrim. |
| 116. Rockport. | 161. Champion. |
| 117. Linden. | 162. Rochester. |
| 118. Gen. Lander. | 163. Prides. |
| 119. Mayflower. | 164. Wolfeboro. |
| 120. Washington. | 165. Gloucester. |
| 121. Agawam. | 166. Ossipee. |
| 122. Moat Mountain. | 167. Newington. |
| 123. Wellington. | 168. Beach Bluff. |
| 124. Kearsarge. | 169. Boscobel. |
| 125. City of Lynn. | 170. Rye Beach. |

171. Naumkeag.	194. Gov. Goodwin.
172. George Hood.	195. Francis Chase.
173. Bangor.	196. Greenland.
174. Somersworth.	197. Tewksbury.
175. John Thompson.	198. Gov. Endicott.
176. Saugus.	199. York.
177. Salisbury.	200. Sagamore.
178. Passaconaway.	201. The Wentworth.
179. Hamilton.	202. Montserrat.
180. Col. Coleman.	203. Eliot.
181. Excelsior.	204. Kittery.
182. Enoch Paine.	205. Bryant.
183. Manchester.	206. Magnolia.
184. Laconia.	207. Lovell.
185. Agamenticus.	208. Broadway.
186. Atalanta.	209. Wamesit.
187. Lebanon.	210. Longfellow.
188. Wells.	211. James Bowdoin.
189. Revere.	212. Major Rice.
190. Piscataqua.	213. W. P. Fessenden.
191. Chocorua.	214. Falmouth.
192. Kennebec.	215. Middleton.
193. Glenwood.	

The locomotives numbered 101 and upwards were those belonging to the old Eastern Railroad when it was leased to the Boston and Maine in December, 1884. At that time these engines were no longer named, the Eastern having given up the practice. The Boston and Maine proceeded to rename them, reviving some of the former Eastern names and adding other new ones. The custom of naming locomotives was given up about 1895, the Boston and Maine being one of the last roads in this part of the country to keep up the practice.

HAVERHILL CHURCH RECORDS.

ADMISSIONS TO THE FIRST CHURCH.

- Eliezer Crocker, from Bradford, Jan. 15, 1720-21.
Susannah Gatchel, wife of Nathaniel, from Salisbury,
Apr. 6, 1729.
Martha Dodge, wife of David, Sept. 5, 1731.
Ann Warner, wife of John, from Gloucester, May 4, 1733.
John Annis and wife, from Second Church, Newbury,
Aug. 3, 1733.
Capt. James Pearson and wife Hannah, Hepzibah, their
daughter-in-law, and Jeremiah Eaton and wife Han-
nah, Aug. 31, 1733.
Mary White, wife of Nicholas, and Elisabeth Haines, wife
of Jonathan, Dec. 1, 1734.
Mary Appleton, wife of Samuel, Apr. 3, 1737.
Capt. John Pecker, July 2, 1738.
Edward Barnard, from Andover, Apr. 27, 1743.
Judith Eaton, wife of John, from Second Church, New-
bury, Nov. 7, 1743.
Jonathan Wooster, from Concord, Feb., 1743-44.
Joseph Pattin and wife, from Billerica, Nov. 19, 1744.
Nathaniel Balch, from Second Church, Beverly, Joanna
Shepard, from Andover, and Sarah Barnard, from
Charlestown, June 1, 1746.
Capt. Daniel Eams, from Wilmington, Feb. 4, 1753.
Barachias Farnum, from Rumford, N. H., Jan. 8, 1758.
Sarah Ayer, wife of Dea. John, from Newbury, Oct. 3,
1764.
Ebenezer Gage and wife, from Bradford, and Isaac Os-
good from Andover, Nov. 10, 1765.
Jonathan Baker and wife, from Beverly, Mar. 22, 1767.
Abiel Abbot, from Andover, June 3, 1795.
Benjamin Bradley, from Plaistow, Dec. 25, 1796.

[DISMISSIONS FROM THE FIRST CHURCH.

- Ephraim Gile, Jr., and Abigail Gile, to Killingly, Oct. 26,
1729.

Martha Howe, to Methuen, Aug. 17, 1729.

Jonathan Corliss and wife Elizabeth, Samuel Clark and wife Abigail, John Bayley and wife Susannah, Abigail, wife of Samuel Currier, Richard Kelly, Daniel Peaslee and wife Rebecca, Abiel Kelly, Jr., James Emery and wife Ruth, William Gutterson and wife Ruth, John Tippet and wife Ann, John Messer and wife Sarah, Richard Messer and wife Mehitabel, Thomas Silver and wife Mary, Elizabeth Dalton, wife of Caleb, all to Methuen, Oct. 26, 1729.

Martha, wife of Israel Webster, Abigail, wife of William Jonson, widow Mehitabel Griffing, Ruth Jonson, Susannah Jonson, Sarah Eastman, Sarah, wife of Richard Harriman, John Jonson, Timothy Page, widow Hannah Jonson, Mary, wife of Matthew Harriman, Martha Harriman, Sarah, wife of Benjamin Emerson, Hannah, wife of Jonathan Eastman, Mary, wife of Nathaniel Marble, Frances, wife of John Heath, Elizabeth, wife of Samuel Staples, Elizabeth, wife of Caleb Page, Abigail, wife of Benjamin Richards, Hannah, wife of Ephraim Roberds, Elizabeth, wife of Samuel Heath, Esther, wife of Robert Ford, Susannah, wife of Nathaniel Gatchell, Daniel Gile and wife, Cornelius Jonson and wife, James Mills and wife, John Webster and wife, Jonathan Page and wife, Stephen Emerson, Jr., and wife, Obadiah Clement and wife, Thomas Eaton, James White, Nathaniel Jonson, Stephen Harriman, Joseph Harriman, Jonathan Clement, Abraham Whittaker and wife, John Davis and wife, Thomas Jonson and wife, John Clement and wife, Thomas Staples and wife, Stephen Emerson and wife, Benjamin Kimball and wife, Eldad Ingalls and wife, Aaron Stevens and wife, Jonathan Page and wife, all to the North Parish (Plaistow), Nov. 1, 1730.

Joseph Emerson, Joseph Heath and wife, Deacon Little and wife, William Whittaker, Jr., wife and daughter Mehitabel, John Dow, Jr., and wife, Nov. 7, 1730-31.

Mary Whittier, wife of Thomas, to Methuen, Apr. 4, 1731.

Henry Green, Sarah, wife of Robert Corgil, Elizabeth, wife of Ebenezer Griffing, to Methuen, Jan. 24, 1730-31.

Wife of Rev. Christopher Sargent (formerly Susannah Peaslee), and Sarah, wife of Abiel Astin, to Methuen, Jan. 31, 1730-31.

Abiah Belknap, to North precinct, May 9, 1731.

Hannah Newmarch to Methuen, and the wife of Timothy Dow, to the North precinct, June 6, 1731.

Joshua Emerson and wife, to Methuen, July 4, 1731.

Samuel Ingalls and wife, to Chester, and Mary Kent to the North precinct, Oct. 4, 1731.

Samuel Smith and wife to the North precinct, Apr. 2, 1732.

Amos Main, to Rochester, as pastor, Aug. 20, 1732.

Susannah, wife of Ebenezer Ayer, to Methuen, Sept. 1, 1732.

Wife of Peter Dow, to North precinct, May 4, 1733.

Katherine Hoyt (formerly Davis), wife of William, to Methuen, July 29, 1733.

Elizabeth Shepard (alias Jonson), to Hampton, Nov. 25, 1733.

Joseph Bradley and wife, to North precinct, July 7, 1734.

Hannah Marsh, to North precinct, Sept. 28, 1735.

Edward Clark and wife, to Methuen, Oct. 5, 1735.

Nathaniel Merrill and wife Sarah, Andrew Mitchel and wife Abiah, Jacob Whittaker and wife Mary, John Webster and wife Joanna, Stephen Webster and wife Mary, Nathan Webster and wife Sarah, Samuel Ayer and wife Elizabeth, Thomas Haynes and Nathaniel Robinson, Benjamin Stanly and wife Ruth, Daniel Lad and wife Susannah, Joseph Emerson and wife Mary, Nathaniel Merrill, Jr., and wife Ruth, Samuel Haseltine and wife Mary, Thomas Page and wife Lydia, John Marsh and wife Sarah, Peter Ayer and wife Lydia, Joseph Hassaltine and wife Judith, Andrew Mitchel, Jr., and wife Hannah, James Mitchel and wife Martha, James Eaton and wife Rachel, William Ayer, Peter Merrill and wife Mary, Samuel Merrill, Samuel Webster and wife Abigail, Timothy Jonson and wife Sarah, Philip Mitchell and wife

Abigail, John Mitchel and wife Sarah, Micah Emerson and wife Katherine, John Merrill and wife Lydia, Stephen Webster, 3d, Mary, wife of William Whittaker, widow Lucy Merrill, Ruth, wife of John Corlis, Sarah, wife of John Silver, Sarah, wife of Nathaniel Clement, Mary, wife of John Lad, Lydia, wife of Nathaniel Dustin, Mehitable, wife of Samuel Eaton, Rebecca, wife of Thomas Corlis, Rebecca, wife of Josiah Gage, Zerviah, wife of Joseph Hutchins, Abigail, wife of John Emerson, Rachel, wife of John Currier, Elizabeth, wife of Timothy Emerson, Mary Whittaker, Susannah Mitchell, Ruth Stanley, all to the West parish, Oct. 18, 1735.

Widow Whittier, to Methuen, Feb. 1, 1735-36.

Elizabeth Haynes, wife of Jonathan, to West parish, Nov. 21, 1735-36.

Edmund Page, to the North precinct, May 2, 1736.

John Annis and wife, and widow Hannah Eaton, to the West parish, July 4, 1736.

William Mitchell, to the West parish, May 1, 1737.

Lydia Osgood (now Jonson), to Andover, Apr. 2, 1738.

John Page and his sister Abiah Peaslee, to Methuen, and Abigail Bradley (now Foster), to Pennycook, Apr. 30, 1738.

Elizabeth Gile, wife of John Page, to Methuen, and Abigail Jonson, wife of — Shapley, to Second church, Killingly, Susanna Silver, wife of Charles Emerson, to North precinct, Oct. 29, 1738.

Mary, wife of Jonathan Clough, formerly Mary Gile, to Second church, Killingly, Dec. 3, 1738.

Elizabeth Calef, wife of Robert, to Chester, June 28, 1739.

Nathaniel Hassaltine and wife and Richard Kimball, to Methuen, 1739-40.

Wife of Richard Dow, also Nathaniel Dow and wife, sometime before, to Methuen, June 1, 1740.

Samuel Graves and wife, to Chester, Dec. 4, 1743.

Samuel Greely and wife, to Nottingham, Feb. 29, 1743-44.

Sarah White (quondam Bayly), to Second church of Haverhill, Mar. 18, 1743-44.

Martha Howe, to Methuen, Oct. 28, 1744.

Nathaniel Peaslee, Peter Green, Martha Green, Samuel Smith, Hannah Smith, Nathaniel Page, Sarah Page, Reuben Currier, Samuel Davis, Grace Hazzen, Mary Greely, Lewis Page, to the East parish, Nov. 19, 1744.

Lehitable Wilson (formerly Jonson), wife of Deacon, to Methuen, Mar. 31, 1745.

Widow Elizabeth Hastings, Hannah, wife of Samuel Ela, Hannah, wife of John Chase, Abigail, wife of Humphrey Chase, Ann Chase, to the Fourth church, Haverhill, Apr. 14, 1745.

Island Cotton, Esq., to Woburn, Sept. 14, 1745.

Sarah Hazzen, wife of Richard, Hannah Eaton, wife of Jeremiah, the wife of David Dodge, widow Mary Guild, Lydia, wife of Eben Guild, Mary, wife of Joseph Colby, Stephen Colby, Richard Hazzen, Jeremiah Eaton, David Dodge, Ebenezer Guild, to Hampstead, May 31, 1752.

Nathan Johnson, to Hollis, Sept. 22, 1754.

Susannah Kimball (formerly Susannah Smith), to New Hopkinton, Nov. 6, 1757.

Isaac White, to Hampstead, Jan. 24, 1762.

Isaiah Belknap, to the Third church, Haverhill, Sept. 19, 1762.

Isaac Haseltine, to Narragansett No. 1, Feb. 20, 1763.

Isaac Cushing and wife, to Plaistow, 1768.

Mrs. Mary Bartlett and Mrs. Judith Boardman, to the Second church, Newburyport, May 23, 1769.

Isaac Clements and wife to Hopkinton, N. H., and Mrs. Mary Kidder to Dunstable, N. H., 1769.

ADMISSIONS TO THE NORTH PARISH (PLAISTOW).

Thomas Hale and wife, from Newbury, May 2, 1731.

Thomas Paul and wife, from Londonderry, N.H., Nov. 21, 1731.

Lydia, wife of Thomas Eaton, from Bradford, Mar. 5, 1731-32.

Abraham Chase, from Newbury, June 11, 1732.

Hannah, wife of Ezra Pilsbury, from Newbury, Nov. 12, 1732.

- Mary, wife of John Kent, from Gloucester, Feb. 3, 1733-34.
Ann Cushing, from Roxbury, Dec. 21, 1735.
Wife of John Bradley, Jr., from Lynn, Dec. 5, 1736.
Hannah, wife of Samuel Kimball, from Andover, Nov. 2, 1740.
Mercy, wife of Thomas Pope, from Gloucester, Nov. 1, 1741.
Eliza, wife of Stephen Harriman, from Methuen, Apr. 7, 1745.
Abiel, wife of Jonathan Stevens, Jr., from Gloucester, Oct. 2, 1748.
Abigail, wife of Nathaniel Knight, from Newbury, Apr. 5, 1752.
John Russell, from Woburn, Dec. 17, 1752.
Abigail, wife of Dea. Jonathan Kimball, from Salisbury, June 2, 1754.
Tristram Knight, Sarah, wife of Oliver Knight, Prudence, wife of John Knight, all from Newburyport, and Martha Follansbee, from Chester, Apr. 6, 1755.
Joseph Noyes and wife, and Benjamin Pettingell and wife, from Newburyport, June 6, 1756.
Eliza, wife of Isaac Snow, from Braintree, Aug. 1, 1756.
Abel Merrill and wife Ruth, from Newbury, Oct. 3, 1762.
Gyles Merrill, from Salisbury, Mar. 6, 1765.
John Hall and wife Elizabeth, from Medford, Nov. 7, 1793.
James Hazeltine, from Bradford, July 6, 1777.
Hannah, wife of Jonathan Sawyer, from Woburn, Mar. 4, 1781.
Osgood Carlton and wife Lydia, from Newbury, N. H., Sept. 2, 1784.
Aaron Carlton and wife Mehitabel, from Bradford, May 1, 1785.
Sarah Payson, wife of Jonathan, from Salem, May 4, 1800.

DISMISSIONS FROM THE NORTH PARISH (PLAISTOW).

- Ann Pecker, to York, Oct. 24, 1742.
Timothy Emerson and wife Hannah, to Nottingham, Aug. 2, 1741.

Susanna Harriman, to Candia, Apr. 1, 1750.

Nathaniel Burpee and wife Esther, to Candia, July, 1769.

Hannah, wife of Benjamin Cushing, to Salisbury, July 23, 1774.

Sarah, daughter of Jonathan Clement of Weare, to Hopkinton, Oct. 19, 1799.

Moses Carlton and wife Abigail, to Newton, N. H., Aug. 30, 1772.

Daniel Poor and wife Ann, Abigail, wife of Nathaniel Knight, John Webster, Tristram Knight, Stephen Dole and wife Mary, Abel Merrill and wife Ruth, Sarah, wife of John Knight, Eldad Ingalls, Benjamin Richards and wife Abigail, all to Atkinson, N. H., Oct. 25, 1772.

Moses Page and wife Mary, to Atkinson, Sept. 4, 1774.

NATHANIEL HANCOCK—MINIATURE PAINTER.

COMMUNICATED BY THEODORE BOLTON OF
WASHINGTON, D. C.

It is very difficult to find out anything about Nathaniel Hancock, the miniature painter, further than a few references in newspapers and Dr. Bentley's "Diary." It may be well to set these in order, so that those interested in the matter of early American portraiture may be on the watch for references concerning him. Perhaps, too, he might be found to be the painter of some of the miniatures without attribution, and this would prevent speculation or even the incorrect assigning of miniatures to another artist.

He flourished from 1792 to 1809, and worked both in Boston and Salem. The authorities for the foregoing statement are the following references: In the "Independent Chronicle" of Boston for 1792 there is this item: "Nathaniel Hancock, miniature painter, . . . his wife died in Boston, May 3." In the same newspaper for May, 1799, he inserted an advertisement as a miniature

painter. Nathaniel Hancock's miniature of Colonel William Raymond Lee is in the possession of the Essex Institute. It has been reproduced in Messrs. Bayley and Goodspeed's edition of "Dunlap's History," Boston, 1918. This is the only miniature by Hancock that has come to the notice of the present writer.

In the "Diary of William Bentley, D. D.," Essex Institute, Salem, 1911, volume 2, page 392, the Doctor records, "I saw at the public house Mr. Hancock of Boston, who had come to Exeter as a miniature painter." In the same book, volume 3, page 250, a footnote says that Hancock came to Salem in November, 1805. Under the date October, 1806, the Doctor mentions a conversation with the miniature painter, who told him about seeing Gilbert Stuart, then working in Boston on important portrait commissions. In the entry under January, 1809, the Doctor writes quaintly: "Mr. Hancock gave me for a letter of his daughter, an account of the proceedings of the King's Chapel at the ordination of Mr. Cary."

So much for the certain references. To these may be added an item from Mantle Fielding's "American Engravers," 1905, a supplement to Stauffer's book printed in 1902. On certain billheads printed in Boston there is the signature "Hancock, set. Boston." It is possible that this was Nathaniel Hancock. The only argument for this view is the fact that the name is not found elsewhere and so the identity is suggested.

There may have been a relationship between Nathaniel Hancock and Robert Hancock, the English engraver 1730-1817. The Englishman was not only an engraver but made small portraits of Lamb, Coleridge, and a few others of that circle. On the strength of this meagre information, the present writer suggests a possible English origin for Nathaniel Hancock.

MANASSEH CUTLER TORREY.

This portrait and miniature painter was born in Salem according to Messrs. Bayley and Goodspeed's "Dunlap's History," 1918. He was a pupil of Henry Inman, an

received, March 22, 1830, the first of three premiums in drawing delivered by Henry Inman to the students of the National Academy in New York. (See Thomas Seir Cummings' "Historic Annals of the National Academy," 1865.) He lived both in Boston and Salem from 1831 to 1837, and died in the latter year, of consumption. It has been impossible to find in what city he died. He worked chiefly at miniature painting. (Felt's "Annals of Salem," volume I.) He was the brother of C. C. Torrey, the engraver. (Stauffer's "American Engravers.")

NOTE ON THE POPULATION OF SALEM, 1637.

BY EBEN PUTNAM.

In volume 42, page 379, of these Collections, there is a note on the population of Salem in 1637, based on the division of marsh land in December, 1637, printed in volume 9. The population is totalled at from 884 to 901, for the territory now covered by Danvers, Beverly, Manchester, Wenham, parts of Lynn, Middleton, Topsfield, and Marblehead Neck, in addition to the present city of Salem (and of course including Peabody).

The division was to the "Inhabitants", a term used to describe those who had been regularly propounded to the town and received or acknowledged as inhabitants. This left a number of residents not entitled to share in the common lands, many if not most of whom are included in the total enumeration quoted above, as members of the families of "inhabitants." Probable instances are Robert Gutch (Gooch), who was admitted an inhabitant 23-10-1638, and had a grant of land 1-11-1637, but who was one of Richard Hollingworth's workmen, and prior to February, 1638, had married his master's daughter; and William Walker, who was in debt to Townshend Bishop, March, 1637, and was probably a member of the latter's family in the following December. But there were several others whose names appear as having been admitted

inhabitants, and who evidently were in Salem in 1637, and yet who are not named in the list. In some cases they had evidently left town at the time the list was actually drawn up, which may not have been until the following spring (see vol. 9, page 70), for on 25-4-1638, it is stipulated that Richard Adams, Samuel Cornish, widow Smith, and Grafton's mother-in-law, "forgotten," are to receive "their half acre apeece of marsh land."

The Marblehead residents were rated in 1637 (vol. 9, pp. 60, 63), and most are not on the list of those who shared in the marsh land. This is in accordance with a vote of the town. Nevertheless, there are some mentioned in the town records who were admitted "inhabitants at Marblehead," and who did settle there, who are not among those rated, and some of the Marblehead people did share.

In most cases it was customary to delay admissions for a sufficient time after request had been made, to discover any objection. It may be supposed that Richard More, who was admitted an inhabitant, Richard Thurston, who had a grant of land, John Webster, who was admitted an inhabitant, and Edward Colcott, who desired to be an inhabitant, all during the winter 1637-8 (December-April), were probably residents during that winter. Also see Mr. Joseph Hull's case.

Thus from a somewhat hasty review of the records available, it is believed that at least twenty-four names of heads of families may be added for Salem, and twenty-five for Marblehead, which may have increased the population from 49 to 100 or more. In addition, there were always temporary residents, especially during the winter, in all the seaport towns, persons as yet undecided where to settle, and who would today be included in any census, and also there would be a greater or less number of strangers, fishermen, sailors, etc., whose stay would be brief, but who would add materially to the transient population of the town proper. This being the case, it is fair to assume that there were from 100 to 200 persons not counted in the families enumerated in the list of December, 1637, which would swell the population of the district to about 1100 people, more or less.

BOSTON NEWS-LETTER ITEMS RELATING TO
ESSEX COUNTY.

The 18 Currant, came in a Sloop to this Port [Boston] from *Virginia*, the Master informed Governour *Cranston*, sq., he was chased by a Topsail Shallop off of *Block-land*, which he judged to be a *French* Privateer, and that there was two other Vessels in her Company, which he judged to be her Prizes. Whereupon his Honour being concerned for the Publick Weal and Safety, Her Majesties good Subjects, immediately caused the Drum to beat for Volunteers, under the Command of Capt. *Tanton*, and in 3 or four hours time, Man'd a Brigantine, with 70 brisk young men well Arm'd, who Sail'd the following Night, returned last Evening, and gave his Honour an Account that they found the aforesaid Shallop, with one other, and a Ketch at *Tarpolian* Cove, who were all Fishing Vessels belonging to *Marblehead* or *Salem*, who were fishing off of *Block-Island*, one of these was a *French* built Shallop with a Topsail, which gave the great suspicion that they were Enemies.

—*Apr. 17-24, 1704.*

Cleared from Barbadoes, *Gurley*, for *Marblehead*, and *Perkins* for *Cape Ann*.

—*May 1-8, 1704.*

Boston. On the 11 Currant Arrived Mr. *Jacob Fowle* of *Marblehead*, at *Stonington*, in a small Sloop, about 22 days from *Curaso*. he was lately an Apprentice to Mr. *Bulfinch* Sail-maker of *Boston*: went out some 12 months ago, in one *Reddington* from *Rhode-Island*, for *Curaso*, in order to go a Privateering, when they came there: the Governour broke their measures, the men Shipt themselves some one way and some another, his Lot was to go on board a Dutchman, bound for to trade with the Spaniards, in a Ketch of 10 Guns; A Spaniard met them, killed the Dutch Lieutenant. The Master, Merchant and others upon it jumpt into the hole, before the Spaniard so

much as boarded them; and if they had fought neede not have been taken. When they were carryed into New Spain, where he was about 9 months, all the men were sent to the Mines, he being Sick was spared: and when somewhat recovered, the Governour of the place, wanting a Sute of Sails to be made for a Sloop, hearing he was a Sail-maker, put him to make them, for which had a very small reward, a bit of meat the breadth of a man's Finger and a little Gaffadar bread, his chief Diet while in New Spain was Oysters. A Trader being bound along the Coast wanted a hand, came to the Governour to desire the English man, and promised to return him again when he came back, it was granted: So *Mr. Fowle* went along with him, and coming into a certain Port where a French man of War lay, he went on board, & met another English man, to whom he said, that if he would go along with him he would come for him in the Night, & would carry him off, 'twas agreed the other should be in the Lyon in the head, & he should come with his Canoo, and take him in; and they two should knock the Spaniards of the Barque alongo in the head, and come away with her, and accordingly he took the Canoo in the night, when the Spaniard was asleep, and put in her two Guns, two Cut laces and 2 Pistols, took the Ancient for a Sayl and sailed to the Man of War; the Watch on Board was too quick sighted for him, espied 'em, and was forced to paddle back again with all his might, put the Ancient in his place. The Spaniards, still asleep, knew nothing of it. In some short time after, the Spaniards going all ashore, leaving him & a *Spanish Indian* on board, he stept & unloos'd the Sail of the Barque alongo, told the Indian if he would go along with him might go & should fare well, he said still no, no, & went to take up a Handspoke to knock out *Mr. Fowle's* brains, in the interim *Mr. Fowle* tript up his heels & threw him Overboard, and put to Sea; the Spaniards on Shore Man'd their Canoo to overtake him, came up with him: The Boatswain first put his hand upon the Barque alongoo, & *Mr. Fowle* stab'd him and he fell backwards, the Captain seeing that, said, put off; The Force Fired several shot at him, some whereof came thro' his Sayls; They also man'd a Parriager after him, & pursued

him about 8 hours till midnight ; but having a fair wind, in about two days got safe into *Curaso* about 70 Leagues distant from the Port in *New-Spain* he came from, having on Board about 19000 of Cocoa : The Lieut. Gov. of *Curaso* forgave him the Custom of it, saying he well deserved it. He sold his Vessel and Cargo there. And bought the Sloop in which he came home in ; he met with a violent Storm the 4 instant. He says that of late the Spaniards kill all the *English* they take, but saves the *Dutch* alive. *Zachariah Hill* of *Boston*, in a Sloop of Mr. *Lillys* bound to *Jamaica*, fell in with 7 *French* Men of War, and was taken. Mr. *Fowle* spoke with his Mate at *Curaso*.

Arrived at *Marblehead*, Capt. *Quelch* in the Brigantine that Capt. *Plowman* went out in, are said to come from *New-Spain* & have made a good Voyage.

—May 15-22, 1704.

By the Honourable THOMAS POVEY, Esq. Lieut. Governour, and Commander in Chief, for the time being, of Her Majesties Province of the *Massachusetts-Bay* in *New England*.

A PROCLAMATION.

Whereas **John Quelch*, late Commander of the Brigantine *Charles*, and Company to her belonging, Viz., **John Lambert*, **John Miller*, **John Clifford*, **John Dorothy*, **James Parrot*, *Charles James*, *William Whiting*, *John Pitman*, *John Templeton*, *Benjamin Perkins*, **William Wiles*, *Richard Lawrance*, *Eresmus Peterson*, *John King*, *Charles King*, *Isaac Johnson*, *Nicholas Lawson*, *Daniel Chevalle*, *John Way*, *Thomas Farrington*, *Matthew Primer*, *Amthony Holding*, *William Rayner*, *John Quittance*, *John Harwood*, *William Jones*, *Denis Carter*, *Nicholas Richardson*, *James Austin*, *James Pattison*, *Joseph Hutnot*, *George Peirse*, *George Norton*, *Gabriel Davis*, *John Breck*, *John Carter*, *Paul Giddens*, *Nicholas Dunbar*, *Richard Thurbar*, *Daniel Chuley*, and others ; Have lately Imported a considerable Quantity of Gold dust, and some Bar and

Coin'd Gold, which they are Violently Suspected to have gotten & obtained, by Felony and Piracy, from some of Her Majesties Friends and Allies, and have Imbezel'd and Shared the same among themselves without any Adjudication or Condemnation thereof to be lawful Prize. The said Commander and some others being apprehended and in Custody, the rest are absconded and fled from Justice, I have therefore thought fit, by and with the Advice of Her Majesties Council, strictly to Command and Require All Officers Civil and Military, and other Her Majesties Loving Subjects, to Apprehend and Seize the said Persons, or any one of them, whom they may know, to find, and them secure and their Treasure, and bring them before one of the Council, or next Justice of the Peace, in order to their being safely Conveyed to *Boston*, to be Examined and brought to Answer what shall be Objected against them, on Her Majesties behalf.

And all Her Majesties Subjects, and others, are hereby strictly forbidden to entertain, harbour or conceal any of the said Persons, or their Treasure; Or to convey away, or in any manner further the Escape of any of them, on pain of being proceeded against with utmost Severity of Law, as Accessories and Partakers with in their Crime.

Given at the Council Chamber in Boston, the 24th day of May, 1704.

Boston, May 27. Our last gave an Account of Captain *Quelch's* being said to Arrive from *N. Spain*, having made a good Voyage; but by the foregoing Proclamation 'tis uncertain whence they came, and too palpably evident they have committed Piracies, either upon Her Majesties Subjects or Allies. The Names of so many of the Pirates are in Prison & Irons in *Boston* have a * just before their Names: *William Whiting* lyes Sick like to dy not yet examin'd. There are two more of them Sick at *Marblehead*, and another in *Salem Gaol*: and *James Austin* imprisoned at *Piscataqua*.

(*To be continued*)

OLD NORFOLK COUNTY RECORDS.

(Continued from Volume LVII, page 80.)

Timothie Lyndall of Salem, merchant, for £25 in board, conveyed to Philip Grele of Salisbury, all my house and planting lott adjoining, in Salisbury, formerly belonging, by grant of town of Salisbury, to Mr. Francis Dove, and by me lately purchased of Peter Dove, esquire, of New Sarum, in county of Wilts, sone of sd. Francis, lying between land of Sam^l Winsly, now in possession of Ephraim Winsly, and land formerly belonging to Robert Ring, now in possession of ye aforesaid Grele, bounded by ye green and by land now in possession of Major Robert Pike, May 5, 1677. Wit: Hylliard Veren, sen: and James Brown. Ack. by grantor and Mary, his wife, 5: 3: 1677, before Wm. Hathorn, assistant.

Timothie Lyndall of Salem, merchant, for eight thousand foot of boards, conveyed to Phillip Grele of Salisbury, yeoman, about five or six acres upland in Salisbury, something in form of a tryangle, somewhat rounding, bounded by ye highway that leads to ye great Neck by land of Joseph French, Georg Goldwyer, Major Robert Pike, and said Grele, which land was lately purchased of Peter Dove, Esq., May 5, 1677. Wit: Hilliard Veren, sen., and James Brown. Ack. by grantor and Mary, his wife, 5: 3: 1677, before Wm. Hathorn, assistant.

George Martyn of Amsbury, blacksmith, and Richard Martyn of Amsbury, husbandman, conveyed to Isaac Morrill of Salisbury, blacksmith, about thirty-seven acres of upland in Eamsbury, in a place commonly called Children's land, bounded by a white oak at each of two corners, and by a black oak at the two other corners between ye lotts of Nathan Gold and Jno. Colby, butting upon a highway and upon land of Jacob Morrill, June 9, 1675. Wit: Jacob Morrill and John [his I mark] Carter. Ack. by both grantors, Nov. 24, 1675, before Robert Pike, associate.

George Corlis of Haverhill conveyed to Benjamin Thompson about forty acres of land in Haverhill, bounded by Steven Kent, a cartway leading to Button's land, upon part of which land his now dwelling house stands, with five acres of meadow on Spickett river, near Spicket hill, with a highway to both lots, both being now in possession of sd. Corlis, Sept. 3, 1676. Wit: Henry Palmer and Elisabeth Ayer. Deed given as security for the payment of a bill due unto said Thompson as administrator to John Godfrey of fifty pounds sterling. Wit: Henry Palmer and Elizabeth Ayer. Ack. by said Corlis, Sept. 1, 1676, before Nath^l Saltonstall, commissioner.

Richard Dole of Nuberie, merchant, agent and attorney for John Sanders of Weeks, Dounton, county of Wilts, old England, yeoman, for thirty pounds in New England money, conveyed to Nath^l Brown of Salisbury, ye whole township and comon right belonging to sd. Jno. Sanders in Salisbury, with the four acre lot of salt marsh belonging to ye cow comons already laid out, being the twenty-sixth lott in number by ye town records of Salisbury, bounded by the lotts of Jno. Eyer, sen., now in possession of Jno. Stevens, sen., and by lot of Willi: Osgood, sen. Also all other divisions of lands and comonage, July 21, 1677. Wit: Jo: Woodbridg and Timothy Woodbridg. Ack. July 25, 1677, before Jo: Woodbridg, commissioner.

Georg Pearson of Boston, for forty-seven pounds and ten shillings, conveyed to Sam^l Levett of Exiter about fifty-seven acres upland and meadow land in or near Exiter, bounded and laid out as follows: fifty acres land belonging sometime past to Mr. William Hilton of Exiter, and seven acres being forty-five rod by ye riverside, running back into ye woods from bound mark of William Pirkins, till ye fifty acres be accomplished. The meadow and two acres of upland begins at ye first creek and runs upward into Mr. Hilton's marsh. All which land was by virtue of an execution on ye estates of William and Charles Hilton, dated June 23, 1675, granted at a court held at Boston to me, Georg Pearson, July 14, 1677. Wit: Timothie Dalton and Edward Colcord. Ack. by grantor, July 14, 1677, before Sam^l Dalton, commissioner.

Timothie Lindall of Salem, merchant, and his wife Mary, for thirty-five pounds, to be paid partly in staves, conveyed to Henry True of Salisbury, ten acres of meadow, formerly belonging to Mr. Francis Dove of Salisbury, in England, and by me bought of his son, Mr. Peter Dove, as by my deed of sale bearing date in August, seventy-four. Sd. meadow lying in Salisbury, in New England, in ye meadow commonly called ye great meadow, bounded by ye meadow granted to William Partridg, now in the hands of Robert Downer, by meadow of Mr. Tho: Emmer, now in possession of John Cole, abutting upon a creek called ye little river, and upon ye great neck, April 4, 1677. Wit: Robert Pike and John Allin. Ack. by grantor, 30: 2: 1677, before Willi: Hathorne, assist. Mortgage deed, John Severans, senior, and Susanna, his wife, of Salisbury, for one hundred and fifty pounds, to be paid in hogshhead and pipestaves, conveyed to John Jyliffe of Boston, merchant, my dwelling house, out-houses, barnes, stables, oarchyard and land adjoyning in Salisbury, also six acres of meadow lying at Rosses(?) Land, eight acres of meadow at higlede pigledee, adjoining to Capt. Thomas Bradburies, also six acres meadow adjoyning to my oarchyard southerly and on the west of sd. Bradberrie, and fifteen acres of upland on the north side of Capt. Bradberrie's ferrie lott, and five acres on west side of William Bradberries, commonly called ye Swamp, Dec. 25, 1672. Wit: Tho: Patten and Isaac Addington. Ack. by grantor, Dec. 25, 1672, before John Leveret, Dept. Gov.

Indenture, dated Oct. 20, 1676, between Samuel [his mark] Mercer, son of Thomas and Edith Mercer, now in Boston, and Georg Carr of Salisbury, said Sam^l Mercer of his own free will and with his father's and mother's consent, is apprenticed to sd. George Carr for seven years after this date. And ye sd. George Carr doth hereby engage himself to teach him ye sd. Sam^l the arte and trade of a shipwright, and the art of arithmiticke as far as ye rule of three, and to find and provide for his sd. Apprentice good and sufficient meate, drinke, washing, lodging, opparrill, and all other necessaries fitting for an apprentice. Wit: Tho: Kemble and Aron Beard. Ack. by

Samuell Mercer, and consent given by Tho : Mercer, his father, of Newberie, Sept. 19, 1677, before Jo : Woodbridg, commissioner.

Nath^l Batchelder of Hampton, yeoman, conveyed to Tho : Sleeper of Hampton, weaver, a certain parcel of fresh meadow in Hampton toward the beach beyond the east field, being a certain cove of meadow, formerly granted to Tho : Moulton, sometime of Hampton, bounded with a white oak standing on ye upland by the way that goeth to Christopher Palmer's meadow on the south corner of same, and on a straight line to a stake standing in the meadow about four rods from William Estoe's ditch, about fifty-six rods from sd. white oak to sd. stake, bounded by the meadow of Robert Smith, and from the stake above said down to Willi : Estoe's ditch upon the east line. So being bounded by Willi : Estoe's ditch about twenty-four rods toward a way that goes into William Estoe's meadow and bounded with the sd. way toward the north up to the upland. The said cove of meadow is bounded with the upland of me, the sd. Nath^l Batchelder, upland of Robert Smith, a common way that goeth to Christo : Palmer's meadow and endeth at ye white oake standing on ye upland marked on four sides as first mentioned, being about seven acres, June 20, 1660. Wit : Henry Moulton and Dorcas [her *D* mark] ffoulger. Ack. by Nath^l Batchelder and Deborah his wife, March 9, 1667-68, before Sam^l Dalton, commissioner.

Abraham Pirkins, sen., of Hampton, yeoman, for love conveyed to his son Abraham Pirkins, jun., that parcel of land where his house and barn now standeth in Hampton. bounded with ye highway, running in a straight line up to Isaac Godfrey's land. Also one share of ye cowes comon and meadow bounded by land of Robert Page. Also two acres of salt marsh. Wit : Tho : Marston and Sam^l Dalton, jun. Ack. by grantor, 8: 5: 1674, before Sam^l Dalton, commissioner.

Mortgage deed, John Wells of Nubery conveyed to Daniel Thirston of Nubery, about fourteen acres of upland in Haverhill in a field called ye great playne, formerly in possession of James Davis, jun., with ye housing, oarchyard and fencing, also about two acres in Hauks meadow,

bounded by John Hazeltine's meadow; also one acre in
 the meadow, as it is now in the possession of Robt.
 Clement; commonages bought of Robert Clement, April
 1677. Wit: John Griffyn and Daniel Ela. Ack. by
 grantor April 3, 1677, before Nath: Saltonstall, and by
 Mary Wells, Oct. 2, 1678, before Edward Ting, commis-
 sioner. Wit: John Greenleafe and Hannah Greenleafe.
 Thomas Woodbridg of Nubery, having by former deed,
 dated March 21, 1677, conveyed to Mr. Seaborne Cotton
 of Hampton eight acres land in Haverhill, between land
 of Mr. John Ward and Leift: Brown, said Woodbridg
 appoints Edward Colcott of Hampton his attorney to give
 legal delivery of sd. land to Mr. Cotton within five days
 after this date, Oct. 2, 1677. Ack. by Tho: Woodbridg,
 Oct. 2, 1677, before Jo: Woodbridg, commissioner. Mr.
 Edward Colcord, by twigg and turff, delivered to Capt.
 Saltonstall, attorney to Mr. Seaborn Cotton, this land
 which Mr. Tho: Woodbridg bought of Jno: Wells,
 which was formerly land of James Davis, sen., of Haver-
 hill, lying between Mr. Ward and Leift. Brown in Haver-
 hill, Oct. 3, 1677, before us, Shu: Walker and Nicholas
 [his A mark] Wallingford.

Mr. Seaborn Cotton of Hampton appoints his friend,
 Capt. Nath^l Saltonstall of Haverhill, his attorney to re-
 ceive the said delivery and possession and to retain for me
 and make use of it and improve it according to my direc-
 tion, Oct. 2, 1677. Ack. by Seaborn Cotton before Jo:
 Woodbridg, commissioner.

Edward Colcord, by virtue of attorneyship from Mr.
 Tho: Woodbridge, gives possession to Capt. Saltonstall
 his attorney to Mr. Seaborn Cotton of the land which the
 sd. Mr. Woodbridge bought in Haverhill. Wit: Shu:
 Walker, John Osgood, Nicholas [his O mark] Walling-
 ford.

Agreement, dated Jan. 5, 1674, between John Sam-
 bourne, sen., of Hampton, administrator to Robt. Tuck
 of Hampton, deceased, and John Sherbourn, sen., of
 Portsmouth, heir to the estate of Robt. Tuck; John Sam-
 bourne shall make good to Henry Roby of Hampton the
 covenant made between the sd. Roby and Sambourn con-
 cerning the houses and lands now in possession of sd.

Roby which was formerly the estate of Robt. Tuck, as appeared by covenant between sd. Sambourne and sd. Roby, and sd. Sambourne shall receive to his own use what rent shall be due for the same; also one commonage about sixty or seventy acres of land at a place comonly called by the name of ye new plantacon in Hampton, westward. If any further trouble shall arise about the estate aforesaid, from Robt. Tuck in England, son of Robt. Tuck aforesaid, or any other, that the sd. John Sherbourn shall pay one-half of the charge and trouble; that the copper and all the housing vessels expressed in sd. covenant, and the tables, bedsteads, and all the household goods that belong to the estate, now in possession of sd. Roby, shall, at the end of the term, be delivered to the sd. John Sherbourne, he paying the sd. Sambourn three pounds in merchantable pay. Wit: Seaborn Cotton, Richard Martyn. Ack. by John Sambourn and John Sherbourn. Jno. Sambourn and John Sherbourn, sen., agree that they intend to include their heirs, May 24, 1676. Wit: Seaborne Cotton and John Shipway. Ack. by John Samborn and John Sherbourn. Certificate, April 3, 1677, that I, John Sherbourn, am fully satisfied. Wit: Joseph Sherbourn, Benjamin Moss.

William Tuck of Gorlston, near Yarmouth, England, son of Robert Tuck of said place, for one hundred and twenty pounds in current money of New England, quits claims to John Samborn, sen., of Hampton, and Jno. Sherbourn, sen., of Portsmouth and Dover, all interest in estate of Robert Tuck in New England, deceased, ordered by court to Robert Tuck in England, son of Robt. Tuck in New England, deceased; sd. Willi: Tuck promised to deliver to sd. Sambourne and Sherbourne all ye writings that Nath^l Boulter hath ever had concerning sd. estate, Oct. 10, 1673. Wit: John Borsham and John Hubur. Ack. by Will: Tucke, before Sam^l Dalton, commissioner.

(To be continued)

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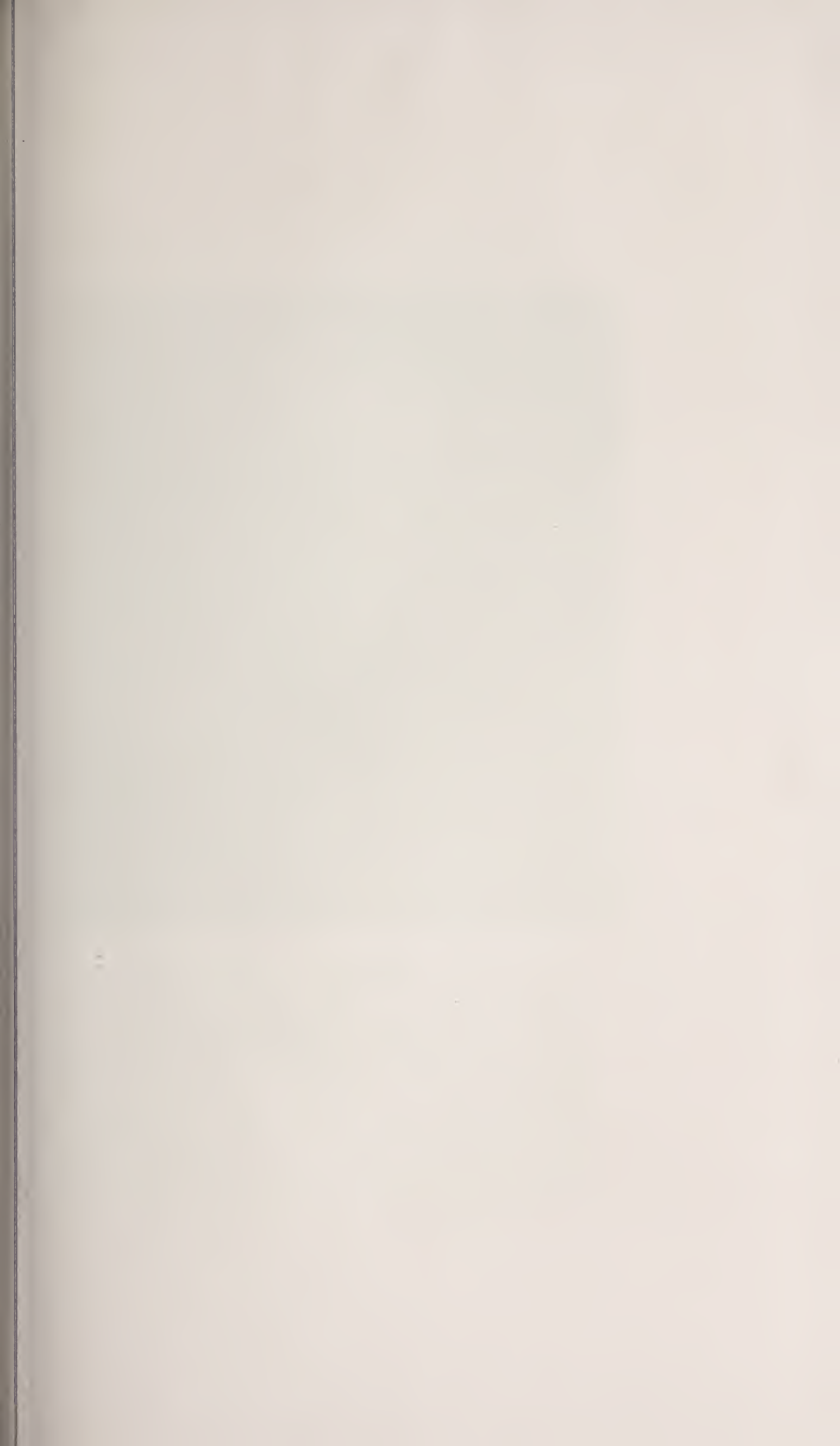
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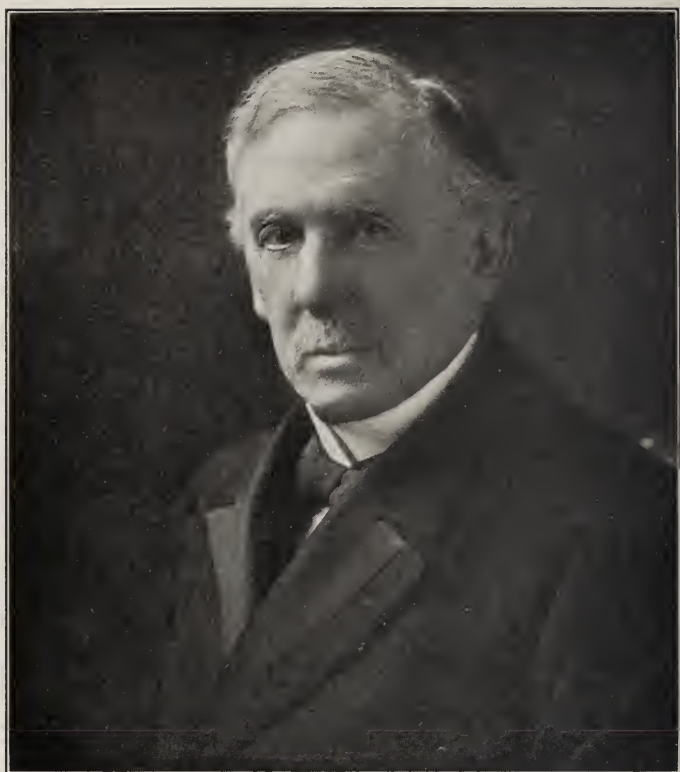
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JULY, 1921

No. 3

JAMES ANDREW GILLIS:

A MEMORIAL BY ROBERT S. RANTOUL,

Spread upon the Records of the Superior Court,
on motion of a Committee of

THE ESSEX BAR ASSOCIATION,

which comprised

His Honor, Rollin E. Harmon, Judge of Probate; His
Honor, Charles A. Sayward, Trial Justice of Ipswich;
Forrest L. Evans, some time City Solicitor of Salem;
and Daniel N. Crowley of Danvers.

It was responded to from the Bench by His Honor, Judge
Joseph F. Quinn, and ordered of record. A letter
from the Honorable Joseph H. Choate is appended.

May it please your Honors:

We are here at this time to put on record, if your
Honors shall be pleased to accede to our request, a final
tribute of regard for one of the most estimable and inter-
esting characters who have graced the distinguished roll
of brethren of the Essex Bar. He was, at his decease,
with the exception of our venerable Brother Saunders of
Lawrence, the last survivor of that early school to which
we all look back with reverential pride. It seems almost
presumptuous in me to come here to discharge this office,

for more than a generation has gone by since my name appears in the Court Records as an attorney conducting business at the Essex Bar. But my relations with our departed brother were so long-sustained, and came to be so close, that the Bar Association has seen fit to honor me with its invitation to voice, as the mouthpiece of its committee, this tribute to his memory,—perhaps recalling in this connection the long-forgotten fact that I was, in 1860, chosen treasurer of its organization, as a successor of Mr. Gillis, and, as such, was privileged to hand its cheque to the great limner, Hunt, in return for his noble portrayal of our noble Chief Justice.

James Andrew Gillis was a purely Essex County product. He was born in Salem, June 6, 1829, and, after living in the eastern section of the town, first in Union street, and then on the ancestral estate beyond the Common, which had on it one of the earliest tan-yards and a windmill for grinding bark, he was domiciled for a while in the colonial mansion well up the Main Street, in which Washington is supposed to have visited connections when he came to Boston in 1756, wearing the uniform of a British colonel, on a mission from Governor Dinwiddie. There the youth was a pupil of the Sisters Morgan, who then kept a dame's school in a part of the house, and of Carlton with Charles F. Choate and George F. Barstow, and thence he went, with his widowed mother, to Cambridge, to complete his education there. At the end of a course at Harvard and the Dane Law School, he returned in 1852 to his native town, and took up the congenial profession of the law, to which he was wedded for the balance of his life.

His father, James Dunlap Gillis, born in 1798, was a person of no little mark. He was a favorably-known ship-master in the Asiatic trade—"a bold and skillful navigator"—admitted to the East India Marine Society in 1823, and, as a boy ten years before that, credited on the Crowninshield Privateer *America's* muster-roll with three-quarters of a share, ranking in the capacity of "gunner's yeoman, detailed to pass ammunition between decks." He is specially remembered for having provided himself with hand-made charts of unexplored equatoria

regions, which charts served so well that, years after, in 1853, they were used by our national government, for lack of better, in the opening up of trade by Commodore Perry's pioneer expedition to Japan. It was quite the practice with Salem ship-masters of that day, while detained in an Asiatic or Mediterranean or Northern port, for the discharge or shipping of a cargo, to procure portraits of themselves and of their vessels, painted by local artists expert in that branch of art. Of one of these, done at Antwerp by Fernandus de Braeckerleer in 1826, a copy now hangs in our East India Marine gallery, and it shows Captain Gillis holding in his hand the canvas, traced with pen and ink, by the aid of which he found his tortuous way through the uncharted waters of Japan. In 1831, a government report says of his enterprise that he had extended his surveys to five degrees of north latitude, and had published an excellent chart, with sailing directions, for the coast of Sumatra. Captain Gillis died at sea in 1835—a very young man—in command of the ship *Equator*, on a voyage to Batavia, for Neal & Sons of Salem, leaving a widow and three little children, and of the latter the subject of this memoir was the eldest—then only six years old. So that self-reliance was among the earliest lessons that he had to learn.

The biographer who has not lost faith in heredity likes to know something of the descent from which a memorable character has sprung.

Mr. Gillis's father, Captain Gillis, was born near Park Square in Boston, in 1798, the child of parents of Scotch-Irish stock lately arrived from Dublin. Captain Gillis had inherited scholarly instincts from his father, who was a graduate of Dublin University. Among these were a capacity and taste for architectural drawing, and his name is said to be found signed to working-plans of the architect McIntire, among the names of students in that office who had a hand in making them.

Captain Gillis's mother was a Dunlap, a stock of which much might be recalled, some of it of romantic interest, besides the fact that the connection brought our departed brother into relationship with Andrew Dunlap, Jackson's District Attorney for Massachusetts,—a brilliant and dis-

tinguished lawyer, and the author of a work on Admiralty Practice.

On his mother's side the subject of this memoir was a connection of Israel Putnam, and the boy had learned well, at the knee of an aunt who knew the General, the story of that sturdy old soldier.

Mr. Gillis's active career at the Bar seems to divide itself into two periods of sixteen years each. From 1852 until 1868 he was hard at work in the preparation of cases for trial, in the responsible capacity of junior counsel, as the law-partner of the Honorable Stephen Henry Phillips. The office of Mr. Phillips, while he was city solicitor, county attorney and attorney general, besides enjoying an extensive private practice, afforded plenty of profitable occupation and training for a conscientious student. While the public hears little of such work, nobody is more ready to recognize its value than the senior counsel responsible for the successful conduct of cases before the courts, nor even than your Honors, sustaining the weighty burden of court procedure, and often aided in judicial determinations through the well-directed industry of junior counsel.

His second period of sixteen years carried Mr. Gillis through a term during which, without a partner, he stood wholly on his own feet.

During this term, from 1868 to 1884, he served Salem as a most acceptable city solicitor, chosen practically without opposition through seven successive mayoralties, and conducting, besides the routine of criminal practice in the district court, as well as a large private practice in the civil courts, important cases for the city incident to the filling of the North river basin and the harbor flats, and to the development of the newly-established city water-works.

Suddenly, without warning, in the midst of all this, while preparing for trial the important Wooldredge case, which had been heard on demurrer and was now coming up on the main issue—it was tried during his disability, as Judge Hoar, who had been retained, said, “on the lines laid down by Mr. Gillis”—his mind gave way under the strain, and for four years thereafter, while under legal

restraint, he observed an absolute and unbroken silence, retaining perfectly all the while his professional instincts, which led him to examine critically every paper served on him in the way of his commitment, or of his removal from his trusteeships. And this condition persisted until, in 1888, he just as suddenly recovered himself, resuming practice and awaking to a normal capacity and vigor completely restored.

At the end of his four years' occultation, Mr. Gillis found himself established in one of the most attractive townships of that high table-land of central Massachusetts which divides the Merrimac from the Connecticut Valley. Here his surroundings were ideal. Winchendon is a place of 6000 people—the last hill-town towards the north before reaching the State line—with farms and victories enough for all—well administered by its 1200 voters—enjoying the purest of mountain air and a varied outlook upon scenes rarely surpassed for picturesqueness anywhere. Here he elected to remain and to recast his plan of life. He was resolved, first of all, that he would be master of his time. That he might insure this, he decided not to return to office-practice in Salem, though his life-long citizenship and belongings and enviable professional standing there called him back, and for the same reason he was unwilling to establish an office-practice anywhere else. But he found himself welcomed as the adviser of the town of Winchendon in its corporate affairs, and also of some of the town's larger manufacturers in their widely extended concerns. Accordingly he brought there the essential books which no lawyer can be without. He secured a pair of sturdy Canadian horses—not yearlings when he got them—which were still doing him good service when he left Winchendon to return to Salem twenty-four years later, and these grays, with his light mountain-wagon behind them, became almost as well known within the thirty-mile radius encircling the town as though the equipage were a natural feature of the scene. When not at work in the shire-towns or at home, he drove incessantly, and commercial travellers, who met him at the taverns and who took him for one of themselves, furtively examined his chaise-box in his

absence to discover the samples and patterns and supplies which, though he never talked about them, they were sure he carried. He became almost as much at home in the courts and registries of Fitchburg and Worcester and Lowell as he had been in those of his native Essex. Winchendon was installing a town water-system, and he became a valued adviser, having borne an active share in the introduction of Wenham water into Salem, and afterwards serving the city officially in adjusting the legal problems growing out of that procedure. He also rendered rare service as a volunteer promoter in securing sites for public charities and other public enterprises, and in the course of his private benefactions, so far commended himself to the home-missionary societies and their evangelical allies, that they were inclined to predict for him, heretic as they thought he was, a way into Heaven on the indorsement of the home missions.

His altruistic principles he carried as far as they ought to go, never permitting them to verge on the silliness with which we are beset. No fellow-being in distress ever appealed to him in vain.

Once, when a faithless official to whom he was under no personal obligations came to his home in Salem after midnight, to summon him from his bed with the startling announcement that he was in the presence of a defaulter who had exhausted all his means of restitution, and that with the coming of another day, a prison sentence and the disgrace of his young family stared the delinquent in the face, Mr. Gillis, only pausing long enough to recover his breath, told the culprit at once that he would rather lose the very considerable sum involved than see his children the victims of such a fate. He fearlessly made good the deficit and sent his unwelcome guest away before daylight revealed his plight. His confidence was not misplaced. His courage saved the credit of the faithless functionary, who, since that night, lived on unsuspected, repaid his benefactor, and died at last in the odor of sanctity.

For a series of winters Mr. Gillis supped with me on Saturdays, and I with him on Sundays. Whenever one of us wrote anything for print, it was our practice to tes

the paper by reading it in advance, one to the other. This process he called "trying it on the average mind," and no professional man is unaware how helpful a process it is in the way of disclosing the weak points in literary work.

Mr. Gillis had no inclination for public life. On the contrary, he had an aversion for it. He declined the usual proffers of judicial preferment which come to a lawyer in good standing with the dominant political party and with the Courts. Only once, and that early in the war period, was he led to disregard his choice. Then the Country seemed to claim every man's strength, and moreover we in Salem were plunged into a bitter contest with a strongly-intrenched private corporation over the establishment of city water-works, in which those of us who were enlisted on the side of the people could decline no service. Accordingly, in 1860, Mr. Gillis became an alderman. In 1861 he was a representative in the Legislature. The House standing committee on the Judiciary was identical, that year, with a joint special committee to consider Governor Andrew's views on the divorce laws. Mr. Gillis was a member of both. In 1862 and 1863 he was again in the Legislature. In 1862 he was the third member on the Judiciary committee of the House, Caleb Cushing being its chairman, and Mr. Gillis was House chairman of a joint special committee to which was referred the Governor's Address. In 1863 he was second on the House Judiciary committee and House chairman of the joint standing committee on Federal Relations. In 1864 he failed of election to the mayoralty of Salem by forty odd votes.

A career thus auspiciously begun, distinctions of this sort succeeding college honors, was worthily sustained until the end. Perhaps there was no more striking feature in this long record than his trying cases in the quasi-judicial function of auditor or referee or master, in both Worcester and Essex counties, after he had passed his four-score years, for in these ventures he showed as firm a grasp and gave as complete satisfaction to court and litigants as in anything he had ever done.

While Mr. Gillis was friendly in his intercourse and had

a kindly hand for everybody, he made few intimates. In a college class of seventy-nine he stood near the head, enjoying the respect of all, but the classmates of whom he made chums could be counted on the fingers of one hand. They must have some marked quality to bring them within the charmed circle. One of these was William Abbot Everett, a grandson of Dr. Abiel Abbot of Beverly, and while the two had grown up together, unknown to each other, at the two ends of Essex Bridge, it remained for Everett's pure taste in letters and the drama, and his finished flute-playing, and his rare acquaintance with music generally—common traits in both—to bring them into the closest life-long relations after they had reached Cambridge and the Bar. Another life-long friendship formed at Cambridge was with Horace Davis (*1916), later of San Francisco, long a conspicuous figure on the Pacific coast. With William Gardner Choate (*1920), assistant attorney-general under Mr. Phillips, and later a Federal Judge in New York city, Mr. Gillis also formed an intimate and lasting friendship while they were both in Salem, and while Mr. Choate was the secretary and Mr. Gillis the treasurer of this body. But the most intimate association of all was with his cousin, Samuel Johnson of Salem, who became the successor of Theodore Parker at the Boston Music Hall, and perhaps the first Oriental scholar in the country. With him Mr. Gillis took long walks, finding the Berkshire Hills and the White Mountains not too remote, and in the family circle so far unbent as to take part in Pickwick Club charades and private-theatrical entertainments. But for the most part he might be called a reticent and self-contained man, and his personal dignity was marked, especially so when in the company of women. A recognized leader of the New York Bar writes of him: "He was to me the most charming of men." Others have described him as "always the same genial, kindly, fascinating man"; as "nothing if not a lawyer"; as "a master of dialectics"; as "one who had the same keen relish for a point of law as the epicure has for a dainty morsel."

With him honesty was congenital. There are those whose native impulse it is to be frank and fair. An ad-

ocate of this class has a great hold on his jury. He also wins the whole attention of the court. There were in our section, when I was at the Bar, two expert witnesses of his class—a civil engineer and a physician. What they said was so genuine and guarded, and so clearly meant to be the last word, that counsel rarely ventured on cross-examination. This is a kind of honesty which proclaims itself. Mr. Gillis wore it in his look. When he spoke, his study seemed to be to make his statement exhaustive and exact. The courts lean towards such an advocate, and opponents need beware of such.

In the first half of the 19th century this Bar had, in one respect, a somewhat unsavory reputation. Its social organization was on a much more exclusive plan than could be possible today. The way for a beginner to get on was for him to seek the approving smiles of some recognized leader of the Bar. A cause which was found unpalatable, either for social or political reasons, might be summarily rejected. For the theory that the attorney was an officer of the court, and as such under obligations to render to the court, as a sworn aid, as well as to the suitor, his best services in every cause, whether popular or otherwise, had not then taken so deep root as now. What has happened more recently in another State in the case of McKinley's assassin illustrates what I mean. The wretch was so unsparingly denounced in advance of his trial that prominent lawyers of the section shrank from appearing to safeguard his rights. Public opinion was once a much more accepted tribunal than now in the administration of justice in this county. We all know how Judge Story fared in 1802 when he began practice at this Bar. Mr. Webster, in 1817, was induced to conduct for the defence, in which he prevailed, the famous Goodrich case, because the Essex Bar had formed so unfavorable an estimate of the merits of the defence that counsel who had any regard for their standing in the county were unwilling to conduct it.

The White murder-trials were heard in 1830. While there was no dearth of able lawyers at the Essex Bar who might have conducted the defence, the burden of it fell, in fact, on Samuel Hoar of the Middlesex Bar, and on

Lemuel Shaw, Franklin Dexter and William H. Gardner from the Bar of Suffolk. Some lingering taint of these abuses was still to be detected at our Bar. The advent of so fearless and independent an attorney as Mr. Gillis did all that one man could do to eradicate the last remnant of so false a practice. Never did he fail to denounce the pernicious principle of trial by public opinion.

I could wish that my words might avail to bring to mind the once familiar presence of a man, erect and even soldierly in his bearing, a model in personal dignity, reticent and reserved in the company of strangers, kindly in all relations, with infinite charity for every weakness, "his talk bright with flashes of the keenest wit and warm with genuine enjoyment of social intercourse," a diligent, discriminating and retentive reader,—a safe and trusted adviser, of scrupulous fidelity to every obligation,—a bold lawyer, with a mind analytical rather than constructive, keen to detect and unravel fallacy,—a master of the art of disputation,—a devoted practitioner at the Bar for more than half a century, deeply impressed with the dignity and honor of his calling. Could I, in addressing your Honors, have succeeded in this, I should feel that I had not failed in duty to the memory of my friend.

In behalf of the committee appointed by the Bar Association to discharge this solemn office, one of whom it is my sad duty to say, has not lived to bear his part in the service of this hour, I have the honor to move that this memorial of our brother Gillis be spread at large upon the records of the Court.

JUDGE QUINN'S RESPONSE.

Brethren of the Bar :

I can add nothing, except appreciation, to your tribute. It was impossible to listen without deep emotion to your words of affection and esteem, and especially to the finished and just portraiture of his life and character drawn by your loving hand and inspired by the close intimacy of a lifetime.

To many of us in Salem, Mr. Gillis was one of those familiar figures who represented the ideals of our early

youth and manhood, and who held sacred that high and pure conception of the Law's responsibilities that made the Essex Bar the leader of the Bars of this Commonwealth. Mr. Gillis, during late years, would occasionally visit the Court in session here and also in Boston, manifesting the same deep interest in the proceedings as in earlier days. Such visits could not but brighten tender recollections and recall, almost in living form, departed associates and contemporaries, endeared to many of us, and whose Titan struggles within these walls so often won admiration. He and the respected memorialist had the enviable privilege of knowing personally the distinguished Chief Justice who gazes down on us from the canvas, and he was friend of and co-worker with Otis P. Lord, Huntington, Abbott, Perry, Phillips, Endicott, Ives, Choate, Saunders, Northend, and latterly Burley, Moulton, and others whose names linger lovingly in memory. His death was the sundering of ties that bound us to a golden past; his going was like a dark night between two sunny days.

Using a common but unhappy phrase, he was of the "old school", a rounded lawyer, thoroughly familiar with the controlling precedents of the Commonwealth and the old technical rules of pleading, a training for the development of great lawyers. His was the day of the old-fashioned preceptor, that example of deportment, dignity and professional morality, and the office-student who hung with loving attention on his word and guarantee,—the day of marked and distinct personality. We have progressed and developed since, but there are lost arts that were well known to the ancients.

To meet Mr. Gillis in social converse was an occasion of delight and profit. Courtly, courteous, gentle, bordering almost on diffidence, withal, firm and insistent, filled with a hatred of sham and pretence, to his last days he would denounce in no measured terms social and political pretenders, and our present-day fads and fancies. A type of generous manhood, true, kindly, faithful in his intentions and in his life, he has earned the honor we pay him. To

such death is not the end here or hereafter, and justifies no grief nor mourning. He died in the fullness of years, recalling the lines of Milton:

"So may'st thou live, till like ripe fruit thou drop
Into thy mother's lap, or be with ease
Gathered, not harshly plucked, for death mature—
This is old age."

The younger members of the Bar, who were deprived of the privilege of knowing this honored senior, cannot but be stimulated to a deeper and broader appreciation of the splendor of their heritage and to a redoubled resolution to maintain and transmit unblemished the reputation and proud traditions of our Bar.

In perpetuation of his merits and our regard for him, let the memorial and a memorandum of these proceedings be entered on the records of this Court, and, out of respect for his memory, this Court is now adjourned.

MR. CHOATE'S APPRECIATION.

8 East Sixty-Third Street,

April 21st, 1915.

MY DEAR RANTOUL:

I received yesterday and read with the greatest pleasure your eulogium of our friend Gillis, presented for the Bar Association before the Court at Salem. I thank you very much for sending me the paper.

The address was simply splendid, and set forth the fine character of Mr. Gillis in appreciative terms. I knew him well in early life, and knew of his collapse, but I had never heard before, so fully as you have set it forth, his perfect recovery and continuance of his practice and work for many years.

It was very much like the case of James C. Carter who, in the midst of a very strenuous professional life broke completely down and was out of it for four years and then he recovered completely and had a fine career of very hard work for twenty years more.

I congratulate you very much for the service that you have rendered to his friends and to the profession.

Yours very truly,

JOSEPH H. CHOATE.

Hon. Robert S. Rantoul.

BRADFORD CHURCH RECORDS.

ADMISSIONS TO THE FIRST CHURCH.

annah, wife of John Boynton, from Rowley, 1682.
annah, widow of Robert Haseltine, Sr., from Rowley,
1682.
usannah, wife of John Tennie, from Beverly, 1682-83.
arah Wallingford and Mary Savouri, from Newbury, 3 :
11 : 1683.
edith, wife of Nathaniel Brown, from Ipswich, 10 : 1 :
1684.
izabeth Woorster, widow of Samuel, from Salisbury, 3 :
4 : 1685.
rancis Jewett, from Rowley, 17 : 5 : 1692.
ohn Spofford, from Rowley, 30 : 8 : 1692.
ehitabel Kimball, wife of Richard, Jr., from Ipswich,
25 : 1 : 1694.
artha Hardy, wife of John, from Rowley, 21 : 6 : 1698.
hilip Atwood, Jr., and wife Sarah, from Malden, 5 : 6 :
1699.
ohn Chadwick and wife and Nathaniel Gage, from Mal-
den, Apr. 29, 1701.
braham and Martha Parker, from Chelmsford, 19 : 2 :
1702.
annah, wife of Dea. Tenny, from Newbury, July 1, 1716.
benezer Kimball, from Mr. Webb's Church, Boston, July
26, 1721.
athaniel Fales, from Dedham, July 28, 1727.

DISMISSIONS FROM THE FIRST CHURCH.

bigail, wife of John Hazeltine, to Boxford, Aug. 14,
1709.
bigail and Ann Hunt, to Billerica, 1714.
amuel Woodbury, to Rowley, Jan. 26, 1715.
mes Palmer and wife Elizabeth, to Exeter, July 17, 1717.
annah, wife of Dea. Tenny, Jr., from Newbury, July, 1716
benezer Crocker, Jan. 26, 1720.
ary Stickney, widow, alias Tidd, to Lexington, 1723.
onathan Kimball, to Boxford, 1721.
oseph West, to Andover, 1723.

- Abijah Carleton, to Littleton, 1723.
Moses Brown, to Tolland, Conn., May 26, 1723.
Sarah Barker, to Andover, May 26, 1723.
Francis Worcester, to Leicester, Nov. 17, 1723.
Solomon, Mary and Joshua Wood, 1723.
Dorcas Chapin, alias Wood, to Mendon, 1723.
Emma Haseltine, wife Samuel, Jr., to Billerica, Apr. 5,
1724.
Ebenezer Worcester, to Littleton, 1724.
Joseph Tenney, to Norwich, Oct. 25, 1724.
Rachel Philbrick, to Salisbury, July 26, 1724.
John Wood, Jr., and wife Sarah, to Littleton, 1726.
Samuel Kimball, to Windham, 1727.
Samuel Hazeltine, Jr., to Billerica, 1729.
Rebecca Gray, to the New North Church, Boston, 1729.
Amos Foster, to Billerica, 1729.
James Wilson and wife Ruth, to Methuen, 1729.
Timothy Worcester, to Falmouth, 1729.
Samuel Eames, to Natick, 1729.
Elizabeth Kimball, daughter of Luke Hovey, to Wenham,
1729.
Sarah Hopkinson, wife John, to East Parish, 1731.
Ruth Webster, to Arundel, 1731.
Lydia Eaton, to Haverhill, June 6, 1731.
Rebecca Webster, to Haverhill, June 6, 1731.
Ruth Hardy, daughter Jonathan Kimball, to East Parish,
June 6, 1731.
Ephraim and Thomas Hazeltine, to Chester, June 6, 1731.
David Kimball and wife, to Pennycook, Nov. 7, 1731.
Elizabeth Parker, wife of Nathaniel, to Andover, 1734.
Mercy Carleton, to Andover, 1734.
Jemima Kimball, daughter Daniel Gage, to Haverhill
1734.
Mehitabel Robinson, daughter Nathaniel Eames, to An
dover, 1736.
Cornelius Brown, Nathaniel Eames and wife Mary, Jere
miah Eames and wife Sarah, Daniel Wood and wife
Sarah, Elizabeth, wife of Dea. Brown, Hannah, wife
of Ephraim Peabody, Mary, wife of John Hovey
Prudence Danielson, Stephen Runnills, Luke Hovey
and wife Dorcas, Joseph Hovey, Jonathan Sherwin
and wife Mary, Ebenezer Sherwin and wife Hepzi

- abah, John Crook, Caleb Brown, Jonathan Cole and wife Judith, to Second Church, Boxford, Apr. 10, 1737.
- Lehitabel Robinson (Eames), to Andover, Apr. 10, 1737.
- Judith Kimball (Hale), to Rumford, Apr. 10, 1737.
- Stephen Merrill and wife, to Tewksbury, 1737-38.
- Achariah Hardy's wife to Tewksbury, 1737-38.
- Joseph Hale, to Rumford, June 28, 1738.
- Olomon Steward, to Lunenburg, 1738.
- Porcas Foster (Hovey), to Second Church, Boxford, July 22, 1739.
- Lehitabel Webster, alias Kimball, to Third Church, Haverhill, Dec. 9, 1739.
- Esther Currier, alias Gage, to Methuen, 1740.
- Lepezibah Hardy, now Marden, to Rye, 1740.
- Samuel Webster, Jr., to Second Church, Salisbury, 1740.
- Lehitabel Robinson (Eames), to Boxford, 1740.
- Aarah Hall, alias Bishop, to Medford, 1740.
- Aarah Goodman, alias Simmons, to South Church, Boston, 1740.
- Thomas Gage and wife to Nottingham, bet. 1740 and 1744.
- John Peabody and wife, to North Church, Andover, bet. 1740 and 1744.
- Thomas Turner and wife, to Kingston, N. H., bet. 1740 and 1744.
- Wife of Richard Hall and Nathaniel Hazeltine and wife, to Harvard, bet. 1740 and 1744.
- John Hall and wife, to Methuen, Dec., 1744.
- David Wood, Jr., and Amos Hazeltine, to Lunenburg, 1745.
- Mary Emerson, now Colby, to Chester, 1746.
- Sachel Boynton, now Johnson, to Rowley, 1746.
- Marttha (Pender) Knowlton, to Ashford, 1748.
- Mary (Wood) Hall, to Chester, 1748.
- Caleb Hall, to Methuen, 1748.
- Abigail Hall, wife Ralph, to Methuen, 1748.
- Amos and George Kimball, to Lunenburg, 1748-49.
- Nathaniel Carleton, Ephraim Kimball and wife Abigail, to Lunenburg, May, 1749.
- Abigail Kimball, now Dustin, to Plaistow, 1757.
- Judith Farnham (Hall), to Rumford, 1758.
- Jeremiah Kimball and wife to New Hopkinton, 1760.

Aaron Gage and wife, to Methuen, Sept. 30, 1764.
 George Carleton and wife Mary, to Boxford, May 31,
 1767.
 Lydia Kimball, alias Thurston, to Fitchburg, Dec. 4, 1768.
 John Kimball, to Concord, N. H., Feb. 25, 1770.
 Sarah Wyman, to Shrewsbury, 1772.
 Thomas Barnard, to Fourth Church, Salem, Nov. 1, 1772.
 Wife of David Spofford, to Temple, Nov. 22, 1772.
 Sarah Cross, to Chester, Apr. 25, 1773.
 Mary Peabody, to Atkinson, Dec. 26, 1773.
 Moses Kimball and wife, to Amherst, Oct. 30, 1774.
 Moses Day, to Fryeburg, July 2, 1775.
 Mary Brown, to Winthrop, Jan. 12, 1777.
 James Hazelton, to Plaistow, June 1, 1777.
 Samuel Kimball, to Boxford, Mar. 28, 1779.

LETTER FROM CAPTAIN JOSEPH WATERS
 CONCERNING THE FRIGATE ESSEX.

Salem Jany^r 3^d 1800.

Sirs

With pleashure I Inform you that I have Just Received a letter from Cap^t Preble at N^oport Informing mee of the Safe Arivall of the Essex & Speaking of her Sailing Remarkably fast—hee Says with two Reefs in Each Topsail & his four Sail Seet hee Sailed as fast as the Belisarius with her Top & Top Galant Streaving Sails Sett & that his Opinion is that when his Ship would go 6 Knots that the Belisarius would not go more than four & that hee has gone 11 Knots with his Top Galant Sails Set—within Six points of the wind—on his passage Round to Newport, & hee thinks that the Essex is a Verry good Sea Boat—this, I think, will aford you a great Deall of pleasure as it does the Gentlemen of the Committee hear, & your humble servant. After my Best Respekts to you & Your Famaly

I Remain Your Hum^{bl}^e Ser^t

Joseph Waters.

Mr Will^m Hacket
 Saulsbury



THE BURNAP-BURNETT GENEALOGY.

BY HENRY WYCKOFF BELKNAP.

(Continued from Volume LVII, page 112.)

46. SARAH BURNAP was probably born about 1646-5, and married 3 February, 1668/9, John Southwick, born in England about 1620, son of Lawrence and Cassandra Southwick or Southericke, as it sometimes is written, who had previously married, in 1642, Sarah, the widow of Samuel Tidd, and 12 May, 1658, Hannah Flint, widow. She is called a spinster, living in Reading, 1 September, 1668, and is referred to in her father's will in 1688 by her married name of Brown, for John Southwick died 25 October, 1672, and she married, secondly, 12 June, 1674, Thomas Cooper of Salem, from whom she was divorced, and 20 November, 1684, she married, thirdly, Cornelius, born 3 June, 1667, son of Cornelius and Sarah (Lamson) Brown. Cooper re-married Abigail Sibber, and lived in Newport.

Her Southwick children are remembered in her father's will, but she does not seem to have had children by Cornelius Brown.

The will of John Southwick: 26 October, 1672, to son Samuel, to sons John and Isack the rest of lands, etc., in case my father Burnet gives them the medoe he promised and lying in Williston Medoe, daughter Sarah, daughter Mary, to Elizabeth Giles, alias Tidd; wife executrix; others Josiah Sowthick and Daniel Sowthick, overseers. Witnesses: John Pudne, Edward Grover.

Children—SOUTHWICK:

JOHN, born June, 1669; married, 23 Dec., 1688, Hannah Follett; died 1742/3. (Southwick Genealogy.)

ISAACK, born beginning of November, 1669; died after February, 1669/70. (Salem Court Records.)

ISAACK, born 27 Jan., 1670(1). (Salem Court Records.)

SARAH, born 15 Aug., 1672. (Salem Court Records.)

Thomas Cooper of Salem, 12 April, 1679, husbandman, consideration £45 to my son-in-law (sic) Samuel Southwick (Note: a son by first marriage) a dwelling house in

Salem, heretofore the house of my predecessor, John Southwick, now by me dwelt in and my rightful estate by virtue of my marriage with Sarah, the relict of ye John Southwick . . . also the right of widdowes thirds due unto my present sd wife . . . also the thirds due unto the brothers of sd Samuel, viz., John and Isaac Southwick when they come to age, also to sd Samuel n title unto ye halfe of estate due unto John Southwick ar Isaac Southwick his brother when they come to age . . . (Sarah consents) 15 March 1679. Thomas Cooper have the use of the easterly end of ye house and firewood from the land for two years and use of the house f same time, but if he and his wife remove he shall not l it but Samuel shall have it. Thomas Cooper, Sarah Cooper, her mark. Witnesses: Thomas Preston, Richard Croade, Thomas Fuller, guardian to John Southwic Acknowledged 25 March, 1680. (Essex Deeds, vol. page 73.)

Testimony of Daniel (son of Lawrence) Southwick Salem, aged about 45 years. This Deponent being Newport in Road Island about the middle of June 1684 past, had some discourse with Thomas Cooper concerning his wife Sarah Cooper & concerning Abigail Sibley; the said Thomas Cooper told this Deponent yt he Cooper was maryed to the said Abigail Sibley, and with all he gave this Deponent a Letter out of his pocket a desired him to deliver it to Robt. Burnap or Sarah Cooper & desired this Deponent to deliver it to her, & said yt the letter would clear his former wife, so as that she might marry with whom she would, which letter accordingly delivered and seeing said letter now here in Court believes it is ye very same yt he brought from sd Cooper and adds further yt the person he received ye letter from (ye sd?) Thomas Cooper he knows is ye person was married to ye said Sarah Cooper now in Court which affirmed to be ye truth in ye presence of God before Court ye fifth of September 1684.

Petition of Sarah Cooper alias Burnap sheweth . unhappily entred into a soleme covenant of marriage with one Thomas Cooper of Salem with whom she lived some considerable time . . . he went away from me a

went for England . . . but before yt he broke his marriage covenant, etc. . . . since his returne to this Land hath not only forsaken me . . . but hath also since yt time owned before one in Mr. Joseph Jencks . . . (illegible) man in Authority in Rhode Island Colony . . . and doth renounce his marriage coven^t wth me, becaufe not married according to ye Law of England. Prays for a bill of divorcement. 2 September 1684. (Records of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts, No. 2236.)

Child—COOPER:

ELIZABETH, born 1 Nov., 167— (Salem Court Records), 12 Nov., 1676 (Southwick Genealogy).

47. THOMAS BURNAP, whose birth and baptism have not been found, was a malster in Stanstead Abbots and was granted administration on his father's estate, 11 April, 1688. In 1698 Sarah Bray of Stanstead Abbots made her will and left "Unto Thomas Burnapp senr. one gold ring value twenty shillings to him and his heires forever." Describing him as of Stanstead Abbots, she made him her executor. On 16 October, 1703, Thomas Burnapp proved the above will. (Arch. Mddx. Essex & Herts., 206 Sanney.)

He witnessed the will of Jonathan Moore of Stanstead Abbots 11 February, 1707/8. (Arch. Mddx. Essex & Herts., 271 Sanney.) He also witnessed that of Nicholas Camp of the same place, 3 May, 1708. (Ibid: 272 Sanney.)

The name of his wife does not appear, and she evidently died before 25 February, 1723/4, when he made his will.

The will of Thomas Burnap: In the Name of God Amen. Thomas Burnapp of Stanstead Abbott, Herts., malster. To my daughter Sarah, the widow of Abraham Wharley, and my friend Thomas Norris of Ware, Herts., malster, all my freeholds and copyholds (except one acre in Stanstead in the occupation of John Pank and 5 1-2 acres called Priors Lees in Stanstead) during the life of Thomas Burnap my son on trust to pay him the rents and profits half yearly and after his death the said property

to go to his issue, failing which to Susan my youngest daughter, the wife of John Bruton, for life, and then to my three grandchildren, Thomas Bruton, John Bruton and Sarah Bruton; the land above excepted to go to my daughter Susan, the wife of John Bruton, for life, and then to the three said grandchildren. £5 to my said son-in-law John Bruton. 21/- to my daughter Sarah. £100 to my daughter Susan Bruton. Household goods to my daughter Susan. All the residue to my daughter Sarah. The said trustees to be executors. Dated 25 February, 1723/4. The above will was proved 1724/5 by the said executors. (Arch. Mddx. Essex & Herts., 119 Grayling.)

Children :

79. THOMAS, bapt. 3 Oct., 1683, at Hunsdon; died about 1751.
80. SARAH, widow of Abraham Wharley, at the time her father made his will.
81. SUSAN, wife of John Bruton, at the time her father made his will and with three children:—Thomas, John and Sarah.

48. JOHN BURNAP was a malster in Stanstead Abbots, and is mentioned in his father's will in 1673/4, from which we find that he had married before that date Elizabeth Hide, and which also tells us that the Barge Yard house, which John mentions in his will, had been inherited from his father. He evidently died before July, 1687, as he is not named in his mother's will. The "cousin" Samuel Burnapp who is mentioned in his will was probably his nephew and the son of his brother Samuel.

The will of John Burnap: 28 June, 1682, "being at this present time not sick, only attended with some bodily infirmities but otherwise in reasonable good health." Executors, my dear and beloved wife, Elizabeth Burnapp, and my cousin Samuel Burnapp that now liveth with [me]. The house at Stanstead called the Barge Yard. The house wherein my mother-in-law, the widow Hide, now lives in St. Margaret's by Stansted. Legacies given by my father in his will. My cousin (probably the son of his sister Sarah, the wife of Richard Bray) Joseph Bray, of Stanstead, my sister Judith Hunsdon, my brother Samuel Burnapp. Witnesses: William Hide, Richard Alder-

ridge, Joseph Bray. Proved 1 July, 1687, by the widow. (P. C. C. Foot 90.)

It would seem that they had no children.

49. SAMUEL BURNAP was an apprentice in 1673/4, being so called in his brother John's will. It may have been he who was married at St. James's, Duke Place, London, 20 June, 1680, he being a bachelor, to Deborah Abs, spinster, with John Wheatley as a witness.

Children (whether by the possible wife assigned to him above or by another):

82. JOHN, mentioned as the grandson of Elizabeth Burnap in 1694.

83. SAMUEL, mentioned as "my cousin Samuel Burnapp that now dwelleth with me" in the will of John Burnap, 28 June, 1682.

50. SARAH BURNAP was unmarried in 1673/4, when her father made his will, and it is not clear from her mother's will whether it were she or her sister Ruth who married Thomas Aunger before 1694. The grandchildren mentioned in that will are placed here, but may belong under Ruth Burnap (No. 53).

Children—AUNGER:

ELIZABETH.

SARAH.

JUDITH.

51. ELIZABETH BURNAP, called "my daughter Elizabeth Evens" in her father's will in 1673/4, had one child at that time, and in 1694, in her mother's will, she is called "my daughter Evens" and had two children. She is not to be confused with another Elizabeth, born in Aston, 1655, the daughter of another John Burnap.

Children—EVANS:

MARY, under 7 in 1673/4; married before April, 1694, to — Dirking.

JOHN, mentioned with his sister Mary in their grandmother's will.

52. JUDITH BURNAP evidently married 1 Sept., 1669, at Hunsdon, probably Edward Hunsdon, since their son is called Edward, the Younger, in her father's will. She is mentioned again in the will of her brother John, in

1682, and again, with her children, in her mother's will in 1694.

Children—HUNSDON :

EDWARD, a minor in 1673/4; mentioned in mother's will.

MARY, a minor in 1673/4; not mentioned in mother's will.

JUDITH.

RACHEL.

ELIZABETH.

SARAH.

53. RUTH BURNAP was unmarried in 1673/4, when she is mentioned in her father's will, and it may have been she who married Thomas Aunger, as explained under No. 50. If so, the children there given were her family.

55. THOMAS BURNAP was born in Reading, 17 January, 1664/5, and married, 28 May, 1688, to Sarah, born about 1665, daughter of Samuel and Sarah (Maverick) Walton, descended from Rev. William Walton, first minister to Marblehead, and from Seaton, Devonshire. The marriage is recorded at Concord, but they are both called as of Reading.

Either Thomas or his son Thomas, jr., was a sergeant, and he was made a freeman 18 April, 1691.

He and his wife and daughters, Mary and Rebecca, were admitted to full communion in the Reading Church, 3 January, 1720/1.

His name appears in the Minister's Rates for 1692, along with that of his father, the amount for Thomas, jr., being £1 : 5 : 9, which was used to show the relative pecuniary reputation of those to whom lands were distributed.

Timothy Willey of Reading, husbandman, and Susannah his wife, consideration . . . to Thomas Burnap of Reading, husbandman, land in Reading, 26 Oct., 1696. Witnesses: Jonathan Poole, Samuel Poole, Deborah Temple. Acknowledged, 17 Oct., 1727. (Mddx. Land Records, vol. xxvi, p. 506.)

Thomas Burnap was the constable at Reading, according to the records of the Supreme Judicial Court (3395), in January, 1696.

Thomas Bryant of Reading, consideration £5, to Thomas Burnap, jun^r, land in Reading. (Mary Burnap also signs.) 9 Dec., 1715. Witnesses: Benj^a Burnap, Thomas Eaton, Joseph Arnold. Acknowledged 2 March, 1718. (Mddx. Land Records, vol. xxi, p. 479.)

Jona: Poole, Jun., of Reading, yeoman, consideration £1:10:0, to Thomas Burnap, jr., of Reading, yeoman, and in Reading. (Esther Poole also signs.) 7 May, 1725. Witnesses: Thos. Nichols, Benj^a Poole. Acknowledged 17 June, 1725. (Ibid, vol. xxv, p. 504.)

He died 21 August, 1726 (Reading Vital Records), and his wife died 13 August, 1731 (Reading Town Records). They are buried in the old Town Burying Ground at Wakefield, and on her stone the date is given as 17 August.

The will of Thomas Burnap: 19 May, 1726. Thomas Burnapp of Reading, yeoman: to beloved wife Sarah in the house the west lower Room and the west lower Bed room, Room in the Leanto and which garret she shall please to chuse and one third part of the Cellar with convenient Yard room, etc.

My son Thomas Burnapp to pay wife yearly every year she remains my widow good Stock well fatted one hundred and forty pounds, etc. Thomas to carry my wife on horse back to meeting or elsewhere, etc.; if she marry again all abovesaid payments shall cease and my wife shall have the Said one third of the moveables and the said forty shillings a year for her life. To my son Thomas, housing, lands, etc., in Reading. Thomas to pay to my children and grandchildren, to my daughter Sarah, decd., to her children Seventy pounds; to my daughter Mary ninety pounds; to my daughter Elizabeth seventy pounds; to my daughter Martha seventy pounds; to my grandchildren by my son Ebenezer, decd., eighty-six pounds, as they come of age to one of them should either decease; to my daughter Abigail seventy pounds; to my daughter Sepzibah seventy pounds; to my daughter Bethiah eighty pounds; if any daughters die before they receive their portion that portion to be divided among the surviving children of theirs or them that legally represent them; wife Sarah executrix, son Thomas executor. Thomas

Burnap. Witnesses: Benj: Swaine, Ebenezer Parker Joseph Burnap.

Proved 10 October, 1726 (the 10th Oct. next came the executor Thomas and Samuel Stearnes, who married deceased's daughter Sarah, to signify satisfaction).

Inventory of Thomas, who died 21 July, 1726, taken 4 October, 1726, by Joseph Burnap, John Poole, Josiah Brown, £62:12:9. (Middlesex Probate Records, vol xviii, pp. 36-8.)

Children, born in Reading:

84. THOMAS, born 16 April, 1689; died 22 Feb., 1769. (Reading Town Records.)
85. SARAH, born 18 Oct., 1690; died 6 Aug., 1724. (Lynn Town Records.)
86. MARY, born 8 Sept., 1692; death not found.
87. EBENEZER, born 3 Oct., 1693; died 1 Nov., 1693. (Reading Town Records.)
88. ELIZABETH, born 1 Nov., 1694; died 30 Dec., 1748. (Reading Town Records.)
89. REBECCA, born 2 Dec., 1695; died 12 Nov., 1727. (Reading Town Records.)
90. MARTHA, born 3 April, 1697; death not found.
91. EBENEZER, born 1 Mar., 1697/8; died 30 July, 1723. (Reading Town Records.)
92. ABIGAIL, born 8 Feb., 1699/1700; death not found.
93. HEPZIBETH, born 3 April, 1701; death not found.
94. TIMOTHY, born 8 April, 1706; death not found.
95. BETHIAH, born 25 July, 1707; death not found.
96. ISAAC, born 17 Jan., 1712. (Batchelder Genealogy, not found elsewhere.)

57. MARY BURNAP, born 27 March, 1667/8 (7 March in Clerk of Courts' Records), married, 12 January, 1692/3, William, possibly the son of William and Martha Eaton of Watertown, Mass., but more probably the son of John and Elizabeth (Kendall) Eaton of Lynn. The marriage is recorded in Lynn Town Records under the name of Burnit. She is probably the Mary, sr., whose death is recorded in Lynn, 11 July, 17—.

Children—EATON:

WILLIAM, born 10 July, 1696.

JERIMIAH, born 10 Aug., 1698; probably married 10 April, 1722. Margerit Hawkes of Lynn.

ELIZABETH, born 8 Dec., 1700; probably married 10 April, 1724, Ebenezer Gowing of Lynn.

JACOB, born 7 June, 1702; probably his intention of marriage 29 Oct., 1727, Mehitable Breed of Lynn.

BENJAMIN, born 21 Mar., 1705; probably married 21 May, 1730, Anna Rann of Lynn.

59. SARAH BURNAP, born 4 April, 1672, in Reading; married there, 9 February, 1692/3, John, son of John and Hannah (Davis, unless he had a second wife) Boutell, according to Bailey's Early Marriages, although it is not to be found in the Vital Records. As no other John and Sarah seem to have been married there, it is probable that the children given below are theirs. Sarah was unmarried in 1691, when the parents died, so that we get no help from that quarter. Both died after 1713, but no record is to be found.

Children—BOUTELL:

JOHN, born 22 Dec., 1693; died 22 Dec., 1693, a. 1 day. (Reading Records.)

THOMAS, born 2 Dec., 1697; died probably young.

THOMAS, born 10 April, 1699; probably married 17 Nov., 1720, at Woburn, Ruth Knights.

SARAH, born 15 Feb., 1701/2.

JACOB, b. 2 May, 1705.

JONATHAN, born 1 Nov., 1709; probably married 23 Aug., 1733, at Reading, Elizabeth Foster.

BETHIAH, born 1 July, 1713.

61. BETHIAH BURNAP, born 9 June, 1677 (Reading Town Records); married 24 May, 1696, at Reading, Thomas, born March, 1668/9, son of Thomas and Sarah (Chadwick) Grover of Malden. The Drury Death Book (New England Historic and Genealogical Register, vol. lxxv, p. 360) gives the death of a Bethiah Grover at Natick, in February, 1784, but no record of Thomas Grover's death has been found.

Children, born at Reading—GROVER:

EBENEZER, born 29 Jan., 1697.

MARY, born 19 Feb., 1699/1700.

62. ESTHER BURNAP, born 7 February, 1680/1; married at Lynn (intention 4 October), 9 December, 1707, Thomas Eaton. So many of the name appear in the

Reading Records at about the proper date, that it is impossible to decide which were his parents.

Children—EATON :

AARON, born 9 Sept., 1708, Lynn; died — Nov., 1718.

EASTER, born 4 Oct., 1710, Lynn; married 7 Jan., 1730/1, David Welman.

ARON, born 27 Oct., 1719.

MEHITABEL, born 8 May, 1727; married (intention) 6 Feb., 1742/3, Thomas Eaton.

64. SARAH BURNAP, born 6 November, 1653 (Reading Town Records), married probably before 1680, at Reading, Abraham Roberts, who appears in a list of inhabitants at Reading before 1700, and probably a son of Giles Roberts of Scarborough, Me. She died 4 April, 1696 (Reading Town Records), and it is probably his death which is recorded both in Wakefield and Reading Records, 12 September, 1731, although another Abraham died 19 October, 1714.

Children (order uncertain)—ROBERTS :

SARAH, married 13 Oct., 1701, Samuel Foster.

MARY, born 7 Dec., 1681 (Reading Town Records); married 5 Oct., 1714, William Shelton (Sheldon) of Salem (Wakefield Records).

ELIZABETH, married 24 Dec., 1713 (Wakefield Church Records), Benjamin Nourse. Presumably her birth 19 Nov., 1684 (Lynn Town Records).

ABIGAIL, married 28 Dec., 1721, John Eaton (Wakefield Church Records).

ANN, born 2 April, 1686 (Lynn Town Records); married 5 Aug., 1707, Caleb Taylor.

ABRAHAM, married 7 Mar., 1700 (Woburn Records), Susanna Thompson, who died 27 Feb., 1725/6 (Reading Town Records), and he married, secondly, 8 June, 1726 (Wakefield Church Records), Elizabeth Pierce.

65. JOHN BURNAP (Burnet in some places), born 16 May, 1655 (Reading Town Records), seems to be the one who figured in "ye Fall Fight" (King Philip's War) in 1676, under Captain William Turner, as appears in a list dated June, 1736, and his son John was admitted among the claimants as of those descended from the participants in that fight, "above Deerfield", 23 June, 1736. He made a deposition in 1682/3, being 26 years of age (Salem

Quarterly Court Records, vol. xxxix, p. 99), and was probably the John who became a freeman at Reading, 18 April, 1691.

He married, 7 April, 1684, at Charlestown (Reading Town Records), Mary, born about 1661, who seems to have been the daughter of Joshua and Bathsheba (Pratt) Rice, or Royce. Samuel More of Boston, in his will, dated 17 October, 1715, and proved 22 October, 1716, leaves £5 to "brother-in-law John Burnett of Winham, Conn." (Old Silver in the American Church, by E. Alfred Jones). More had married, 10 September, 1702, Sarah, probably daughter of the same Joshua and Bathsheba Rice and widow of Benedict Webber. Joshua Rice, born 4 April, 1637, was a son of Robert and Elizabeth Rice of Charlestown, and he was a shoemaker in Charlestown, where a son Joshua was born in 1664, and probably also Mary and Sarah, although their births are not in the Boston Records. In 1692 John Burnap was rated at 10/- in the Minister's Rates for the preceding year, used, as previously explained, to show the relative pecuniary reputation in land divisions.

John Thompson of Reading, husbandman, consideration £20 : 10 : 0 to John Burnap, husbandman, part of a lot with my now dwelling house, etc., 3 February, 1696. Elizabeth Thompson also signs. Witnesses: Josiah Hodgman, Elizabeth Hodgman, Joseph Burnap. Acknowledged 10 April, 1708. (Mddx. Land Records, vol. xiv, p. 596.)

John Burnap of Reading, husbandman, consideration £13, to Thomas Taylor, land in Reading which was my father's, late decd., which he gave to me in his will. (Land to brother Joseph mentioned) 12 May, 1697. Mary Burnap also signs. Witnesses: Thomas Poole, Mathew Grover, Joseph Burnap. Acknowledged 30 May, 1706. (Ibid, vol. xiv, p. 70.)

John Burnap of Reading, husbandman, consideration £4, to Thomas Poole of Reading, husbandman, land in Reading, 16 May, 1699. Witnesses: John Dickerman, John Goodwin, Jonathan Poole. Acknowledged 5 April, 1704.

John Burnap of Reading, husbandman, consideration three pieces of meadow in Reading, to brother Joseph

Burnap of Reading, cooper, and ten pounds in money June, 1703. Witnesses: Thomas Poole, Caleb Taylor. Acknowledged 15 June, 1703. (Ibid, vol. xiii, p. 493.)

Samuel Merrow of Reading, husbandman, consideration £9, to John Burnap of Reading, husbandman, a house and land that was my father Henry Merrow's in Reading 10 June, 1703. Mary Merrow also signs. Witnesses: Thomas Goose, Caleb Taylor, Joseph Burnap. Acknowledged 13 June, 1703. (Ibid, vol. xiv, p. 517.)

John Burnap of Reading, husbandman, consideration £68: 10: 0, to Nathaniel Parker of Reading, a house etc., which Father Burnap gave me, with a piece of land I bought of Samuel Damon, with a barn lot that was Mr. Thomas Burnap's in Reading, 23 April, 1708. Mary Burnap also signs. Witnesses: Joseph Barnap, John Boutelle, Timothy Manning. Acknowledged 26 April 1708. (Ibid, vol. xiv, p. 555.)

John Burnap of Reading, husbandman, consideration £8, to Samuel Merrow of Reading, husbandman, land in Reading, 21 October, 1708. Witnesses: Nathaniel Cutler, William Jamison. Acknowledged 29 October, 1708. (Ibid, vol. xiv, p. 618.)

He removed in 1705 to Scotland, Conn., and the last two deeds show that he disposed of his holdings in Reading a few years later. He bought for £72: 10: 0, land by Merrick's Brook, as will be seen from the following deeds:

Obadiah Abbe of Windham conveys to John Burnap of Reading, in the county of Middlesex, in the province of Massachusetts Bay, land in Windham along Merrick's Brook, with dwelling, fences, trees, lumber, stone walls, water-courses, etc., 13 April, 1708. (Merrick's Brook is a stream in the present town of Scotland.) (Windham Deeds, vol. D, p. 100.)

John Williams of Barnstable to John Burnap of Windham, for £30, the 30 acres of land I bought of Isaac Magoun on the north side of Merrick's Brook, 9 October 1715. (Ibid, vol. E, p. 128.)

These tracts he soon conveyed to his son Isaac in the next deed: I, John Burnap of Windham, for love, good will and fatherly affection that I have and do bear to my

on Isaac Burnap, and also in consideration that I the said John Burnap have taken of my said son Isaac Burnap a bond of four hundred pound for my maintainance and the maintainance of his mother during our natural lives, bearing even date with these presents, do convey to said Isaac the land I bought of Obadiah Abbe and John Williams, 4 June, 1718. (Ibid, vol. E, p. 341.)

He and his wife were dismissed to the Windham Church July, 1712, and in 1720 he lived on what was later the Charles Holt place, which was burned in 1867. A part of the information in regard to this family has been obtained in Weaver's "Burnap Families of Windham" in the Connecticut Historical Society. He died before September, 1725, and his wife, December, 1741, *ae.* 80 years. (Weaver's Windham County and Windham Vital Records.)

Windham County Probate Records, vol. 1, part 2, p. 91: Court, 5 September, 1725, administration to Isaac Burnap. Inventory, 25 September, 1725, £61 : 15 : 8 (pp. 119-20), Receipts of heirs, Ambrose Blunt of Norwich, for £6 : 2 : 0, "which is ye whole that remained to my wife as her portion out of said estate, 6 March. 1726."

Received from Isaac Burnap of Windham, in ye County of Hartford, in the Colony of Connecticut in New England, administrator to ye estate of John Burnap, late of Windham, Deceased, ye sune of six pounds and twelve shillings currant money, It being ye Remaining part of my portion in full that is Due to me out of ye sd Estate for wch I do for myself, my heirs, Executors and administrators, free the said Estate from any further dues or duties and other demands what soever from ye said Estate. Witness my hand and seal the second day of March, 1726. Jacob Burnap, Seal. Recorded 6 April, 1726.

A like receipt from Joseph Smith of Canterbury, in sight of his wife. Also from Joshua Lassell of Windham for "his children's portions." Also from Abraham Burnap of Norwich. (Vol. i, p. 76.) A similar receipt from John Burnap of Bath in Carolina, son of John Burnap, late of Windham, 25 September, 1727, and witnessed by Dorcas Walden and Jacob Burnap. The distribution of the estate was made 6 April, 1726, to the following recip-

ients: Ambrose Blunt, Norwich, Jacob Burnap, Windham, born about 1704; Joseph Smith, Canterbury; Joshua Lasell, married 14 December, 1725; Mary Burnap; Abraham Burnap, Norwich; John Burnap, Bath, Carolina; Isaac Burnap, administrator.

Children, born in Reading:

97. DORCAS, born 17 Feb., 1685.
98. MARY, born 6 Jan., 1686/7.
99. JOHN, born 9 Mar., 1688/9; died 1744.
100. ELIZABETH, born 4 Dec., 1691; married Joseph Smith of Canterbury.
- 100a. ISAAC, born 10 May, 1694; died 20 Dec., 1740, ae. 47. (Windham Records.)
101. ABRAHAM, born 9 July, 1696; died after 1737/8.
102. JACOB, born about 1704; died 31 Aug., 1771, in his 68th year at Windham.

67. HANNAH BURNAP, whose birth does not appear is called "Barnet" by Savage and "Burnet" in other places. She married, 9 April, 1678, at Newbury, Joshua, born 10 March, or August, 1646, son of William and Elizabeth (Jackson) Boynton of Rowley. William Boynton had come from the West Riding of County Yorkshire, England, and had inherited a farm at Newbury from his father. Joshua Boynton served under Major Appleton in the Narragansett campaign in 1675, and under Captain Brocklebank in 1676. Hannah, his wife died 12 January, 1722/3, and he married, secondly, 29 November, 1725, Mary Daniels, widow of Richard Syle of Rowley. She died 28 July, 1727, and he married, for the third time, 30 October, 1727, Mary, the widow of John Boynton. His will was proved 12 November, 1736.

Children, by wife Hannah—BOYNTON:

- JOSHUA, born 4 or 5 May, 1679; married (intention), 30 April, 1708, Mary Dole. He died 29 Oct., 1770, ae. 94 (Newbury Town Records), ae. 91 yrs. 5 mos. 25 days (duplicate record).
- JOHN, baptized 15 July, 1683; married (publishment), 27 Nov., 1717, Jemima Worcester.
- ZACHARIAH, baptized 20 July, 1690; married, 15 Nov., 1715, Sarah Wicom.



Plot of a meadow in Grading measured for Capt. O. P. Langs:
June 9, 1908.

PLAN DRAWN BY JOSEPH BURNAP, 1708

WILLIAM, born 26 May, 1690; married Nov., 1713, Joanna Stevens of Salisbury.

HANNAH, baptized 5 April, 1696; married, 2 April, 1724, John Dresser; 24 Jan., 1740, Thomas Johnson; 28 Oct, 1741, Francis Worcester of Sandwich. She died 28 Nov., 1774.

69. JOSEPH BURNAP, born 24 March, 1663 (Reading Town Records); married, 23 December, 1690 (Reading Town Records), which may be the date of the intention, if Bailey's Early Marriages is correct, as the date is there given as 31 January, 1690/1, and the intention is not in the records, Tabitha, born 21 March, 1674/5 (Reading Town Records), daughter of Jonathan (called John in the Town Records, but from the probate papers and birth records it would seem that Jonathan was correct) and Elizabeth (Kendall) Eaton of Reading. He was made a Freeman 18 April, 1691, and his name is among those of early settlers. Joseph Burnap, constable, testified (ae. 32), 25 October, 1694, in the case of Pudney and Hancock. (Records of the Supreme Judicial Court, 162,388.)

His trade was that of a cooper, and, 22 March, 1713, he became town surveyor. Evidently he had served in this capacity earlier, as in Essex Deeds, vol. xiv, p. 177, we find: Lynn, 9 May, 1701, Captain John Burrill, Robert Potter, Samll. Johnson, appointed by the Selectmen of Linn to run ye Line between ye farme of Henry Rhodes Senior & ye Towne Common, ye sd. Rhodes like-wife sent four men namely, Robert Coats, John Gaetland, Isaiah Hall & Joseph Burnet (sic) and they all met, etc. John Greenland, Isaiah Hall, Joseph Burnap, Robert Coates, his mark. Attest: 19 Sept., 1701. An original plan, signed by him in autograph, of a meadow in Reading, and dated 9 June, 1708, is among the Fowler Manuscripts in possession of the Essex Institute (vol. xxxvii).

He is called "Joseph Burnap, Surveyor," at Haverhill, 20 December, 1718, and as "Captain Joseph Burnap" makes oath to a line 24 December, 1718. He is called Lieutenant as well as Captain, but records of his service have not been found. He was on a committee "to perambulate the line formerly Salem, but now Middleton,"

which committee met at the widow Philps' house in Reading, 4 December, 1729. In 1727 he assisted at the survey of Turkey Hills, near Woburn. In the Ministers' Rates for 1692 he is rated at 9/4 to show his relative pecuniary reputation. He and his wife were admitted to full communion, 3 January, 1720-21.

The following deeds are on record:

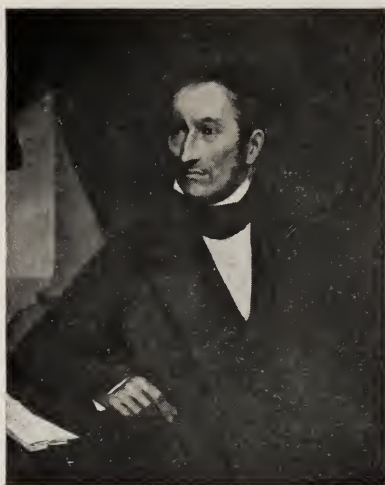
Mathias Cowdrey of Boston, last and heel manufacturer, consideration £18, to Joseph Burnap of Redding, cooper, land in Redding at Johns Neck, 30 October, 1701. Sarah Cowdrey also signs. Witnesses: John Burnap, Ebenezer Kay, William Cowdrey. Acknowledged 31 Oct., 1701. (Mddx. Land Records, vol. xiii, p. 67.)

Joseph Burnap of Redding, cooper, consideration £14 : 10 : 0, to Thomas Tailor of Redding, husbandman, land in Redding, 28 October, 1702. Tabitha Burnap also signs. Witnesses: Nathaniel Cutler, Jr., Thomas Poole, Rebecca Poole. Acknowledged 3 April, 1706. (Mddx. Land Records, vol. xiv, p. 68.)

Joseph Burnap of Reading, consideration, a piece of swamp meadow, etc., to Brother John Burnap, land in Reading (land of Benjamin Burnap mentioned), 10 June, 1703. Witnesses: Thomas Poole, Caleb Taylor, Samuel Merrow. Acknowledged 11 June, 1703. (Mddx. Land Records, vol. xiv, p. 444.)

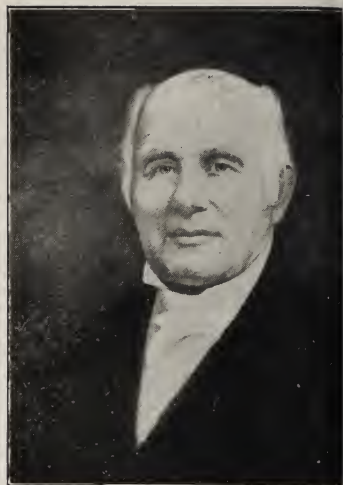
Ebenezer Dunton of Roxbury, blacksmith (who was son of Samuel Dunton, Jun. . . .) of Redding, consideration £144 : 4 : 0, to Captain Thomas Nichols, bricklayer, and Joseph Burnap, cooper, both of Reading, my mesuage or tenement that was my father's, 3 December, 1705. Witnesses: John Mirriam, Jr., Edward Emerson, Rebecca Emerson. Acknowledged 3 Dec., 1705. (Mddx. Land Records, vol. xiii, p. 798.)

(To be continued)



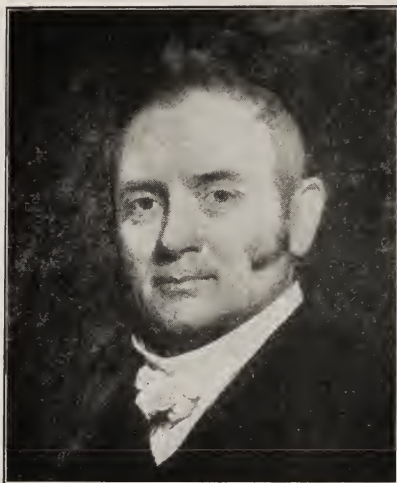
CAPTAIN NATHANIEL SILSBEE
1773 - 1850

*From a portrait after Harding, in possession of
the Peabody Museum*



CAPTAIN WILLIAM STORY
1774 - 1864

*From a portrait by Osgood, in possession of
the Essex Institute*



CAPTAIN SAMUEL REA
1782 - 1842

*From a portrait by Frothingham, in possession of
Charles S. Rea*



CAPTAIN HOLTEN J. BREED
1782 - 1868

*From a portrait in possession of
the Salem Marine Society*

SALEM VESSELS AND THEIR VOYAGES.

BY GEORGE GRANVILLE PUTNAM.

(Continued from Volume LVII, page 104.)

Henry Pettit came down from the foretop, where he had been during the fight. Brown had driven all the Malays abaft the mizzenmast, and Pettit brought a handspike and kept the pirates at bay until Brown could get a spear, with which he quickly drove all the Malays into the water. Twelve or thirteen Malays were in the fight; one was left dead on deck, four were carried off wounded, some mortally, and seven or eight were driven overboard by Mr. Brown.

The Malays having been driven off the ship, Brown rallied his shipmates, calling them to the deck. They then took to the boats and abandoned the ship, seeing which, the Malays returned and took possession of her, and fled with her. The *Malcolm* and the *Transfer* granted Captain Carlton's request to attempt to pursue the pirates, the latter with reluctance, but the Malays escaped with their prize.

Arrived at Salem, August 13, 1806, barque *Eliza* Joseph Beadle, Sumatra, April 8, with pepper and coffee to Joseph White, Nathaniel Cheever and Gabriel Thompson. Duties, \$22,279.91.

Arrived at Salem, October 19, 1806, ship *Union*, George Pierce, Sumatra, with 465,271 pounds of pepper, to Stephen Phillips, Joseph Peele, Joseph Aborn and Joseph Smith. Duties, \$5288.91.

Arrived at Salem, November 9, 1806, ship *Cincinnatus*, William Haskell, 120 days from Soo-Soo, Sumatra, with pepper to Joseph Peabody. Duties, \$20,268.66.

Arrived at Salem, December 31, 1806, ship *Louisa*, Israel Williams, Padang, 144 days, and 82 from Cape of Good Hope, with pepper to Joseph White and others. Henry Rice of Salem was lost overboard, October 7, on the homeward passage. He was 22 years of age. Duties, \$18,545.18.

Captain Israel Williams was an original member of the Second Corps of Cadets of Salem, was the commander in 1802-'04, was an energetic shipmaster of the old school and, like most of the master mariners of his day, performed military duty when on shore. He was one of the early members of the Salem East India Marine Society, having joined it in December, 1799, the first year of its existence. During one of his intervals on shore, he was chosen captain of one of the militia companies, at the reorganization of the militia regiment in 1801, and he displayed such excellent skill in that capacity that he was elected to the command of the Cadets, July 5, 1802.

He entered on this duty with all the energy of his character, and brought the Cadets up to a very high standard of excellence. During the war with England he commanded that famous Salem company of volunteers, the Essex Guards. Captain Williams was a very courteous gentleman, and always maintained a high character in every relation of life. He died in Salem, very suddenly December 9, 1831, aged 60 years. He was the father of ex-Mayor Henry L. Williams.

Arrived at Salem, March 19, 1807, ship *Marquis de Somereulas*, William Story, Sumatra and Straits of Sunda 122 days, via the Vineyard, with a cargo of pepper to Thomas Russell. Duties, \$62.10. Captain Story reports a dreadful tragedy, which occurred in one of the branches of the Great Salt river, leading toward the river Jambas in the island of Sumatra, on board this ship, September 18, 1806. Captain Story favored the *Salem Register* with the following interesting account of the disaster:

"Being from the ship about 70 miles, in order to procure the remaining part of my cargo, I called on a person high in office for some money which I had advanced him for pepper, etc., which he declined paying; upon which I threatened him with many words, in hopes to get my money from him. Some time after he sent a person to me informing me that if I would stay two months longer he would come up to his agreement. In the meantime he lent one of his proas to the Sultan

messenger to send a cargo on board. After the proa was ready to proceed to the ship with a load, I was informed that I could go down in her to the ship, if I pleased. Finding I could not purchase any more cargo, I concluded to repair on board, which was early in the morning. After getting four miles below the town, the tide turned against us, and we came to anchor. Finding the proa a heavy, dull sailer, I engaged a small proa which was passing by to carry me to the ship.

"Two of the men in the former proa appeared very anxious to come with me, and said they were afraid to pass the Sultan's fort without my being on board with them. They even got into the small proa with me, and insisted very much on going, as they could row me on board sooner; but I would not let them come, as there were sufficient belonging to the small proa to row me on board in a day and a half. I informed them that I would call at the fort and make report of the proa's coming with my cargo, which seemed to give them some satisfaction, as no proa could pass without a permit. About 6 P. M. I arrived at the fort and made report to the captain. From the fort to the ship was fifty miles, in a small branch of the river Jamba, the ship lying near a small village called Chitcher. After leaving the fort, we rowed until 12 o'clock at night, at which time the tide had turned against us and we came to anchor and went to sleep.

"Had these people meditated anything against me, they might have done it with ease. I arrived on board the ship at 10 o'clock the next day, at which time we had one large proa alongside discharging, and two more near with cargo on board for me, as we never admitted more than one large proa, or two small ones, at a time.

"On board those three proas were about two hundred men, and those with whom I had been in the habit of trading before in former voyages, and I knew they would not be guilty of any act of treachery now, as was the case. After receiving all they had, everything was settled with perfect satisfaction. The next day, about 8 o'clock A. M., another proa arrived with a cargo, and at 9 the

proa which I first set out with arrived, and the other left the ship. I wanted to take out her loading, but the captain of the proa said that he could not deliver it before the owner of the cargo came to see it weighed. This not being uncommon, I thought nothing more about it, but set all hands to work discharging the ballast, which was in casks. About this time the small proa came alongside that brought me on board. I asked him when he was going up river again. He said in a day or two. In the first mentioned proa I had sent some sugar, coffee and other articles for ship's use, which I had taken out before we went to dinner, and left on deck. After dinner I found one of the canisters of sugar broken open, but could not learn who did it.

"Having ordered the officers with the crew below to stow away the cargo, there remained on deck myself, Mr. Bromfield, the carpenter, with another man assisting him forward, and the cook and steward. There being only fourteen men in two proas on board the ship, I had no the least apprehension from them, nor had I even when the three proas with two hundred men were on board. Some time after, I went below to give some particular orders about stowing the hold. I had not been below more than four or five minutes before I heard Mr. Bromfield cry out that he was creased.

"I called all hands aft immediately to get on deck, and ran aft into my stateroom to get my pistols and sword, and was going up the companion stairs, but just as I got my foot on the first step two boarding pikes were thrown at me, but fortunately missed me. I stepped back and fired a pistol, which did no execution. I always kept my arm chest on deck, and the boarding pikes also, so as to have them handy.

"Two days previous to this we had all the charges of the muskets drawn, as they had been loaded for some time and had the guns cleaned and not loaded again. It appears that several of the men, in trying to gain the deck by the hatchways, were wounded and driven below again. I ordered all the men into the cabin who were between decks, the others, about ten in number, being in the lower

old, could not get up, as all the hatchways were guarded by Malays. Some one reported to the second officer that he was killed, that the Malays had the deck, which was full of men. He ordered them to break into the magazine to get up that way, and if they could not escape, to blow up the ship, which, however, I had prepared for.

"Now, having all hands from below in the cabin and steerage, I intended to divide the crew, one-half with the chief officer and the other half with myself, the first officer to the main hatchway and myself to the companion way. I made a rally in the Malay language to my own crew, which the Malays returned. We could find but three pistols, and the proper cartridges for two of them could not be found. We were obliged to load with powder, and to hold the ball on the pistol until we fired, by which means we shot one of them in the arm. After making another rally with my people, although we had but three swords and three pistols, and obliged to load and fire as stated, all at once, they appeared to be still. I suspected it was a decoy or sham. However, I directed the chief officer to the main hatchway. He was lifted up by the people, and seeing no person on deck, we all rushed on deck, and found they had got off from alongside the ship.

"We went to the arm-chest to get our small arms, in order to pursue them in the boat, but found that the arms had all been thrown overboard. Our decks being full of empty casks, it was some time before we could get any gun to bear upon the pirates. We fired one gun, but it did no execution. We could find nothing of the cook and steward, but discovered Mr. Bromfield dead between decks, between two barrels of beef. It appears that after I went below, Mr. Bromfield, seeing one of the Malays sitting on the larboard hencoop, with his clothes wrapped around him, thought he had stolen the sugar which he had taken out of the canister, and told the boy that he would go and see, but the boy went first and found the Malay casting off the line and fastening the door back (but the boy thought nothing of it), in order to creese me as I came up from below.

“Mr. Bromfield came round to search the man for the sugar. He took up his clothes, and, as I suppose, the fellow had his native creese under them. Supposing himself detected, the Malay thrust his creese into Mr. Bromfield’s bosom. The sailmaker went to see what was the matter and was attacked by the same fellow, who made several thrusts at him, which he parried, but got several bad wounds, and then ran and jumped down the main hatchway, and said the decks were full of men. The carpenter and the other man, who was at work with him, jumped into one of the boats and took to the woods. In an hour they returned, and found we had possession of the ship again.

“Soon after this we had ten proas, full of men, alongside of the ship to assist us, but I admitted only a few on board. On information of the affair being sent to town to the head minister, he immediately dispatched several proas in pursuit of the murderers who had risen upon the ship. I found every attention paid me by the Sultan and the head men. I therefore have no reason to suspect that the Sultan knew anything of such an act going forward. The men who rose upon the ship belonged high up on the river Jamba. I removed the ship further down the river, where I determined to wait several days longer to see if anything more could be done, when a fellow came on board and offered some things to sell which I did not want. I had a suspicion of his being a spy, as he inquired who was the captain of the ship, etc., which was quite an uncommon thing. I then determined to get out of the river as soon as possible, which we did in twelve days after the affair took place, without any pilot on board.”

The compiler of these articles well remembers Captain Story, who died in Salem, March 17, 1864. He was a tremendously powerful man, and it was said of him that he could lift a ship’s anchor. He lived on Bridge street in his latest years, next to the present Calvary Baptist Church. He was the father of the late Augustus Story, who was president of the Holyoke Fire Insurance Company. A large oil painting of the Captain hangs in the art gallery of the Essex Institute. The *Salem Register* said of him at the time of his death :

He was the oldest citizen of Salem, in his 90th year, and one of the noblest specimens of the distinguished class to which he belonged. He contributed his full share to the services rendered by that class to the commercial prosperity of this city and the whole country, in the period of his early manhood and during his prime. In private life he was as tender, affectionate and true, as he was faithful, fearless and conscientious and energetic in his professional and public conduct. . . . His voice, which was in grand accordance with his herculean strength and generous nature, will be ever heard cheering, animating and rousing all to every duty, as when, in times of yore, its tones were heard in the assemblies of the people, and rose above the storm from the tempest-tossed deck.

Following her return from the voyage to Sumatra, the ship *Marquis de Somereulas* made voyages to Europe, and on one voyage, under command of Captain Thomas Russell, while returning from Cronstadt and Elsinore for Salem, she fell in with, on October 28, 1807, latitude 47 N., longitude 41 W., a boat having on board twenty-one living persons, among whom were a woman and a child, apparently in a most distressed situation. Captain Russell took them aboard, and he learned that they sailed from Montevideo, August 9, in the English transport ship *Alexander*, Captain Richard Howard. They sailed under convoy of the frigate *Unicorn* and the sloop of war *Thisby*. There were about 110 persons aboard the *Alexander*. On October 20, the ship leaking badly, they were obliged to go under short sail, and so lost the convoy. On October 22 the leak increased to such an extent that the pumps and bailing could not keep her free. Captain Howard thought it advisable to quit the ship, and took the small boat for his preservation and rowed around the ship several times. In the meantime the longboat was gotten out, but unfortunately bilged in going over the side. However, thirteen soldiers, sixteen sailors, a woman and a child got into the boat and found means to keep it from sinking. They were not far away when the ship blew up and foundered immediately, about 10 P. M. They afterwards spoke with the captain, etc., in the small boats, who told them to steer N. E. and N. E. by N., as that course would carry them to the coast of England, which was not far away.

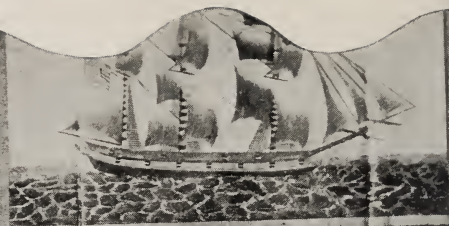
They had only four biscuits in the boat, three gallons of spirits and one pound of raisins. They had been in the boat six days, during which time seven soldiers died of want, two of whom lay dead in the boat when she came alongside. They had cut up one man and had eaten part of the flesh, some remaining in the boat when they saw the Salem ship, but on seeing her they threw it overboard.

As the ship *Brutus* was in sight, and not being overstocked with provisions, Captain Russell thought it proper to signal for assistance in the name of humanity. He informed the captain of the *Brutus*, who responded to his call, of the circumstances, and asked him to take part of the people. He answered that he would take eight, and that his provisions were not sufficient for more. Captain Russell sent them to the *Brutus*, and gave the commander permission to keep the boat, if he wished, and he did so.

Eleven sailors and Mrs. Joanna Evans and her thirteen months' old child were brought to Salem. The *Alexander* was a hospital ship, and many of the people were confined below in their cradles, with the loss of a leg or an arm. Of the 110 persons on the ship only those rescued by Captain Russell were saved. On arrival in Salem, November 13, 1807, of the *Marquis de Somereulas*, a subscription was started for the unfortunates, and between \$200 and \$300 were given immediately by a few persons to whom the paper was presented.

It appears that the *Alexander* foundered between the 39th and 40th degrees of north latitude. The following are the names of the persons brought to Salem by Captain Russell: Boatswain, James Jenkins; carpenter's mate, Peter Egbury; seamen, Lucas Jansbe, John Eskins, John Hall, John Faro, Thomas Clarsman, William Northrup, Charles Eliot, Charles Berg and John Jewly; passengers, Joanna Evans and her thirteen months' old child. Among those who perished in the ship were Mrs. Wilson and her 22-year-old daughter, wife of the adjutant; Mrs. Johnson, a widow; Mrs. Grant, wife of Sergeant Grant; Mrs. Cunningham, wife of Corporal Cunningham; one other woman and seven children, belonging principally to the 87th





By the President of the United States of America

SUFFER the Ship *Franklin* of Salem Samuel Tucker Master or commander of the burthen of *Seventy* tons or thereabouts mounted with *six* guns navigated with *eighteen* men

TO PASS with her Company Passengers Goods and Merchants without any hindrance or stay or molestation the said Ship appearing by good testimony to belong to one or more of the Citizens of the United States and to leave or return only

number 40 York

(Given) under my Hand and the Seal of the United States of America the *twelfth* day of *June* in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and *nine*

James Madison

By the President.

Robert
State of *Massachusetts*
District of *Salem* *Deputy*

Secretary of State

Countersigned by *William H. Hunt*

To all Persons whom
this may concern.

INDENTURE OF THE SHIP "FRANKLIN," OF SALEM, SAMUEL TUCKER, MASTER. 1809
SIGNED BY PRESIDENT JAMES MADISON

From the original, in possession of the Essex Institute

Regiment. The chief mate and six seamen were also in the ship when she went down. The boatswain stated that he was on board the ship when she went down, employed in clearing the stern boat, at the request of the chief mate and six seamen, intending to take the ladies out of the cabin windows. He, however, saw the launch, and had the good fortune to reach her.

The *Marquis de Somereulas* was a ship of 359 tons, built in Charlestown in 1802. Her registers at the Salem Custom House read: "January 14, 1800, John Gardner, Jr., Richard Gardner, owners; William Story, master. March 25, 1809, John Gardner, Jr., owner; Thomas Russell, master. August 26, 1810, Richard Gardner, John Gardner, Jr., owners; Samuel Candler, master. March 30, 1811, Richard Gardner, owner; Thomas Moriarty, master."

In the Historical Collections of the Essex Institute, volume 39, page 361, Dr. Frank A. Gardner of Salem, in an article on "Thomas Gardner and Some of His Descendants," writes that John Gardner died August 25, 1847, in Salem, aged 76 years, and the *Salem Gazette* of August 27, 1847, thus referred to him:

On Wednesday, of Typhus Fever, John Gardner, Esq., aged 77, a highly respected citizen, and formerly an enterprising merchant. Whilst Mr. Gardner was engaged in commerce, he was celebrated for the model and beauty of his ships. Having been unfortunate, he made a large adventure shortly before the declaration of war in 1812, in the *Marquis de Somereulas*, and went himself on her voyage. His success was fully commensurate to his anticipations, and he would again have been restored to affluence, but almost in sight of his port, he was captured and carried into Halifax, and all his sanguine calculations blasted, he not having been insured against a war, a risk which he had not anticipated. Mr. Gardner built, and, until his misfortunes, resided in the spacious mansion on Essex street now occupied by David Pingree, Esq., in which the late Joseph White was murdered. He died at the well-known Gardner farm in North Salem, which has been his place of residence for many years.

On September 14, 1807, the *Register* thus reports the loss of the barque *Eliza*, Captain Joseph Beadle, from Sumatra for Salem, August 28, in latitude 37.30 N., longitude 65.30 W., 146 days out:

The barque *Eliza*, Beadle, of Salem, left the coast of Sumatra April 14. On Aug. 28, lat. 37.30 N., lon. 65.30 W., experienced a very severe gale of wind, which entirely disabled her and she sprung a leak. The mast was cut away and some of the cargo thrown overboard, but to no purpose. Finding all endeavors to save her ineffectual, they cleared the long boat, got in what provisions they could, and all took to the boat at 10 A. M., and at 6 P. M. she was seen to go down. The men continued in the boat three days, when they were taken on board the brig *Venus*, Lunt, from Portland for West Indies, which had been dismasted, lost her deck-load, and had put about for home. On Sept. 1, fell in with the brig *Hope*, Crafts, of Salem, from St. Petersburg, who took the *Eliza*'s crew on board his vessel and arrived here yesterday. On board both the foregoing brigs the captain and crew of the *Eliza* received the most polite attention, which Captain Beadle wishes gratefully to acknowledge.

Arrived at Salem, October 1, 1807, ship *Eliza*, James Cook, Sumatra, April 8, with a full cargo of pepper. The ship registered 500 tons, and she brought 1,012,148 pounds of pepper consigned to the master, and merchandise to James W. Stearns and Joseph Sprague. The duties on the cargo were \$66,903.90, the largest amount on any Sumatra cargo recorded in the impost book at the Salem Custom House, and it included \$41.30 on the merchandise. Recent intelligence from England had excited apprehensions of an immediate war between that country and America, so that some intention was manifested of detaining some Americans there until further intelligence. Captain Cartwright of Nantucket, who was there in a Boston schooner, was so alarmed at this intimation that he set sail without permission, and was fired at from the fort, but got off clear.

Arrived at Salem, October 5, 1807, ship *John*, John Dodge, 132 days from Padang, Sumatra, with coffee, cassia and pepper to J. Crowninshield & Sons. Was generously supplied with bread and flour by Captain Baker of ship *Commerce*, thirteen days from Portland for Surinam, in lat. 31.50 N., long. 55 W. Duties, \$20,364.92.

Arrived at Salem, October 31, 1807, ship *Cincinnatus*, William Haskell, 134 days from Sumatra, with pepper to Joseph Peabody. Duties, \$20,820.

Arrived at Salem, November 26, 1807, ship *Union*, George Pierce, Sumatra, 146 days, with 347,000 pounds of pepper to Joseph Peabody. Duties, \$20,820.

Arrived at Salem, April 7, 1809, ship *Mary and Eliza*, Beadle, Sumatra, December 1, with pepper to Joseph White, Jr. Duties, \$23,184.64.

Arrived at Beverly, April 18, 1809, ship *Alexander*, Hodgdon, Sumatra, 111 days, to Hon. Israel Thorndike. Duties, \$24,763.62. It is worthy of remark that the ship in her absence of thirty-two months, has met with no interference from either of the belligerents.

Entered December 1, 1809, ship *Francis*, William Haskell, Sumatra, 20,705 pounds of pepper to Joseph Peabody. Duties, \$1,248.30. The *Francis* is the first vessel to have completed a voyage to the east of Cape of Good Hope since the raising of the embargo. This voyage was completed in eight months and eight days. This ship was launched, October 31, 1807, from the yard of Enos Briggs, on the South river.

On October 31, 1807, Dr. Bentley chronicles in his diary :

This day, Mr. Briggs, in South Fields, launched a ship (*Francis*) for Mr. Peabody, Merchant of this town of Salem, into South River. And about an hour afterwards, Barker, Magoun & Co. launched at the entrance of the Neck into the lower harbor a ship (*Herald*) for Nathaniel Silsbee, Merchant of this Town. This last I saw. As the flats are level & the building ground low, the builders could not have the advantage of the two other yards, which are steep banks of the rivers. But as soon as the stem block was taken away she began with a gradually increased motion to descend to the water, & without the least interruption or crack of anything near her, she rode upon the Ocean amidst the incessant shouts of the Spectators. We have been so long accustomed to see Retire Becket build good ships and launch them badly, that the sight has new pleasures when free from the alarms which have often prevented the gay circle of friends from anticipating any real enjoyment from the noblest sight man can exhibit.

The *Francis*, Captain Haskell, went to Naples on her next voyage, and was seized. She was later purchased of the Neapolitan government by Mr. Hammett, the American consul. She sailed from Naples, under command of

Captain Haskell, and she arrived at Salem, August 19, 1810, bringing home the crews of American vessels confiscated at that place and at Civita Vecchia.

The following is a list of the masters and supercargoes, besides 183 mates and seamen, who left Naples in the *Francis*: Captains Haskell (ships) *Francis*, of Salem; Cavendish, *Trent*, Boston; Gardner (brigs), *Ruth and Mary*, Philadelphia; Currier, *John*, Newburyport; Brown, *Nancy Ann*, Newburyport; Gardner, *Two Betsies*, Beverly; Tucker, *Betsey*, Salem; Hanscum, *Sukey and Betsey*, Salem; Leander, *Romp*, Salem; Felt, *Victory*, Salem; Haskell, *Phoenix*, Boston; Holden, *Orozimbo*, Baltimore; Waterman, *Emily*, New York; Foster, *Perseverance*, Boston; Bartlett, *Aurora*, Plymouth; Holman (schooners), *Nancy*, Lynn; Turner, *William*, Danvers; Newell, *Louisiana*, Boston; Atkins, *Morning Star*, Boston; Thomas, *Dove*, Beverly; Martin, *Fortune*, Salem; Derby, *Mary*, Salem; Dixey, *John*, Marblehead; Sheffield, *Ousitinack*, Derby; Bradford, *Amherst*, Duxbury; Supercargoes. Meggett, *Trent*, Boston; Clark, *Mary Ann*, Boston; Stewart, *Ruth and Mary*, Boston; Smith, *Urania*, New York; Mifflin, *Hound*, New York. Also Captain Freeborn Thordike, of Beverly, taken on his passage from Sicily for the United States.

Besides the foregoing, the following vessels were confiscated, with their cargoes, at Naples: Ship *Hercules*, West, Salem; schooners, *Hound*, Warren, Baltimore; *Kite*, Thompson, Baltimore; *Urania*, Peck, New York; *Maria*, Cleveland, Boston; *Syren*, Graves, Newburyport; *Peace*, Janvrin, Newburyport; *Mary*, Larcom, Beverly; and *Two Friends*, Lee, Beverly, at Civita Vecchia.

Schooner *Shadow*, Matthews, of Philadelphia, who arrived at Naples, May, 1809, and had compromised with the privateer who captured him, was again taken possession of by the Neapolitan government, and the issue was uncertain.

The *Francis* touched at St. Michael's, July 18, and sailed the 19th. The following passengers left her there and went on board the brig *Perseverance*, Captain Meek, for New York, who expected to sail the same night:





SHIP " FRANCIS," JOSEPH PEABODY, OWNER

From the painting by Anton Roux, 1816, in the possession of the Essex Institute

Captains Waterman and Gardner, Messrs. Clark, Smith, Stewart and Mifflin, and seventeen mates and seamen. The brig *Radius*, Captain Benjamin Lander, arrived at Gallipoli May 18, vessel and cargo confiscated.

Sunday morning after her arrival the *Francis* was boarded in the bay by the United States brig *Argus*.

Captain Haskell reported that "the treatment of the Americans at Naples was of a nature to excite the indignation of every man. The private adventures of officers and seamen were taken possession of, the crews of the vessels in many instances were turned out without the smallest allowance being granted to them to subsist on; others, after their cargoes were taken from them and confiscated, were called upon to pay the charges of landing and quarantine charges, which in some instances amounted to nearly \$1000, each vessel; they refused to sell the American consul more than one vessel to bring home the unfortunate sufferers, so that more than two hundred were obliged to be crowded into one ship, and hurried off, for fear they would retract even this fancied indulgence."

A fleet of forty sail for Malta, under convoy of a frigate and the *Herald* sloop of war, sailed from Gibraltar July 15, which included the brigs *Chance*, McCobb, of Bath, *Swiftsure*, of New York, and *Resolution*, Ray, 26 days from Salem, all bound to Malta for a market. The *Herald* returned on the 18th. A convoy sailed on the 15th for England, including the brig *Latona*, Haskell, of Beverly, and brig *Mary*, of New York from Alicant, both for England, under convoy of the Spartan frigate.

Dr. Bentley's diary is replete with his enthusiasm over ship building. On July 8, 1816, he again wrote: "In passing to Beverly on Saturday, I observed a Vessel on the stocks on the Beverly side, near the Bridge, almost finished, & above 100 tons. The Master Builder from Ipswich. Our four Vessels one at Becket's & the other three in Southfields, two of them at Briggs & the other near S[outh] Bridge, by Barker & Magoon's, are said to be specimens of excellent ship building. It is said that

more of this work is going on in town than for many years & in superior execution."

Among the clearances in the *Salem Register* of March 29, 1809, is that of the ship *Herald*, Silsbee, for Sumatra. This was the second ship of that name. In the former, Captain Nathaniel Silsbee made voyages to the East Indies, having with him, for his clerk, his brother, Zachariah F. Silsbee. In 1807 he had retired from the sea, although in his 30th year, and had become a merchant. In an autobiographical sketch of his life, published in the Historical Collections of the Essex Institute, volume 35, on page 28, is the following: "Having found it inconvenient to pass so much of my time in Boston and away from my family, as my interest in the two ships which my brothers commanded had occasionally compelled me to do, and as my brother William had determined to retire from the sea, we (my two brothers and myself) had a ship built at Salem, to which the name *Herald* was given, and which was launched in November, 1807, and would have sailed immediately for India, under the charge of my brother Zachariah, but before she could be dispatched, the embargo was laid by our government, which kept the *Herald* at the wharf until its termination in March, 1809, soon after which the *Herald* sailed, under command of my brother (Zachariah), for Sumatra. . . . Each and all of us obtained the command of vessels and the consignments of their cargoes before attaining the age of 20 years, myself at the age of 18 1-2 years, my brother William at 19 1-2, and my brother Zachariah before he was 20 years old. All of us left off going to sea before reaching the age of 29 years."

This second ship *Herald* was registered at the Salem Custom House as follows: "*Herald*, ship, 274 tons, Salem, 1807. Reg. March 25, 1809. James Devereux, Zachariah F. Silsbee, owners; Zachariah F. Silsbee, master. Reg. Feb. 1, 1810, James Devereux, Zach. F. Silsbee, Robert Stone, Jr., Dudley L. Pickman, owners; Benjamin Daniels, master. Reg. Jan. 2, 1811, Nathaniel Silsbee, James Devereux, Robert Stone, Jr., Dudley L. Pickman, Zachariah F. Silsbee, owners; Zachariah F.

Silsbee, master. Reg. Oct. 20, 1815, Nathaniel Silsbee, Zachariah F. Silsbee, William R. Gray, Boston, owners; Eleazer Graves, master."

This first voyage of the *Herald* was completed in nine months and sixteen days, the vessel arriving at Salem, December 15, 1809, from Sumatra August 11, via Vineyard Haven, with pepper to James Devereux and Joseph Haighth. The duties were \$29,238.66.

The *Herald* cleared again, February 3, 1810, for Sumatra, under command of Captain Benjamin Daniels, and she arrived home November 9, 1810, making the voyage in nine months and six days. She brought a full cargo of pepper consigned to Zachariah F. Silsbee, Benjamin Daniels, Eleazer Graves, John Phippen, John Wells, Seth Low, N. Seaver & J. Preston, and Walter Marston. The duties amounted to \$29,022.

Arrived at Salem, December 15, 1809, ship *Hope*, Thomas Tate, Sumatra, via Vineyard Haven, with 537,838 pounds of pepper to John and James Barr. Duties, \$32,270.28.

Arrived at Salem, December 15, 1809, ship *Mentor*, William Ashton, Sumatra, via Vineyard Haven, where she arrived in 128 days, with pepper to William Ashton, William Hulen and John W. Rogers. Duties, \$402.06.

Arrived at Salem, December 31, 1809, barque *Active*, William P. Richardson, Sumatra, via Vineyard Haven, with pepper to J. Fairfield and John Dodge, Jr. Duties, \$16,181.82.

Arrived at Salem, December 22, 1809, ship *Janus*, John Endicott, Sumatra, 111 days, with full cargo of pepper to Joseph Peabody. Duties, \$32,287.69.

Arrived at Beverly, January 1, 1810, ship *Asia*, Nathan Leech, Sumatra, with a full cargo of pepper to Israel Thorndike, Esq. Duties, \$1,200.52. Spoke the English frigate *Rattlesnake*, in sight of Lebonage, and was treated very politely. Was informed that a French ship cruising among the islands had taken an American ship, and he gave us friendly caution for avoiding her.

Arrived at Salem, January 10, 1810, ship *Freedom*, Ford, Sumatra, 150 days, with pepper to Willard Peele. Was spoken by several British ships of war and treated

very politely. Was informed that the Isle of France was strictly blockaded, but refrained from endorsing his register, lest it should expose him to capture by the French. Duties, \$16.50.

Arrived at Salem, February 13, 1810, ship *Rolla*, Wells, of Newburyport, Sumatra, 150 days, via Vineyard Haven and Cape Ann. Had been a long time on the coast, cargo shifted, and crew all sick.

Arrived at Salem, February 26, 1810, ship *Mary Ann*, Wellman, 125 days from Soo-Soo, Sumatra, with pepper and coffee to Timothy Wellman. Duties, \$22,373.52.

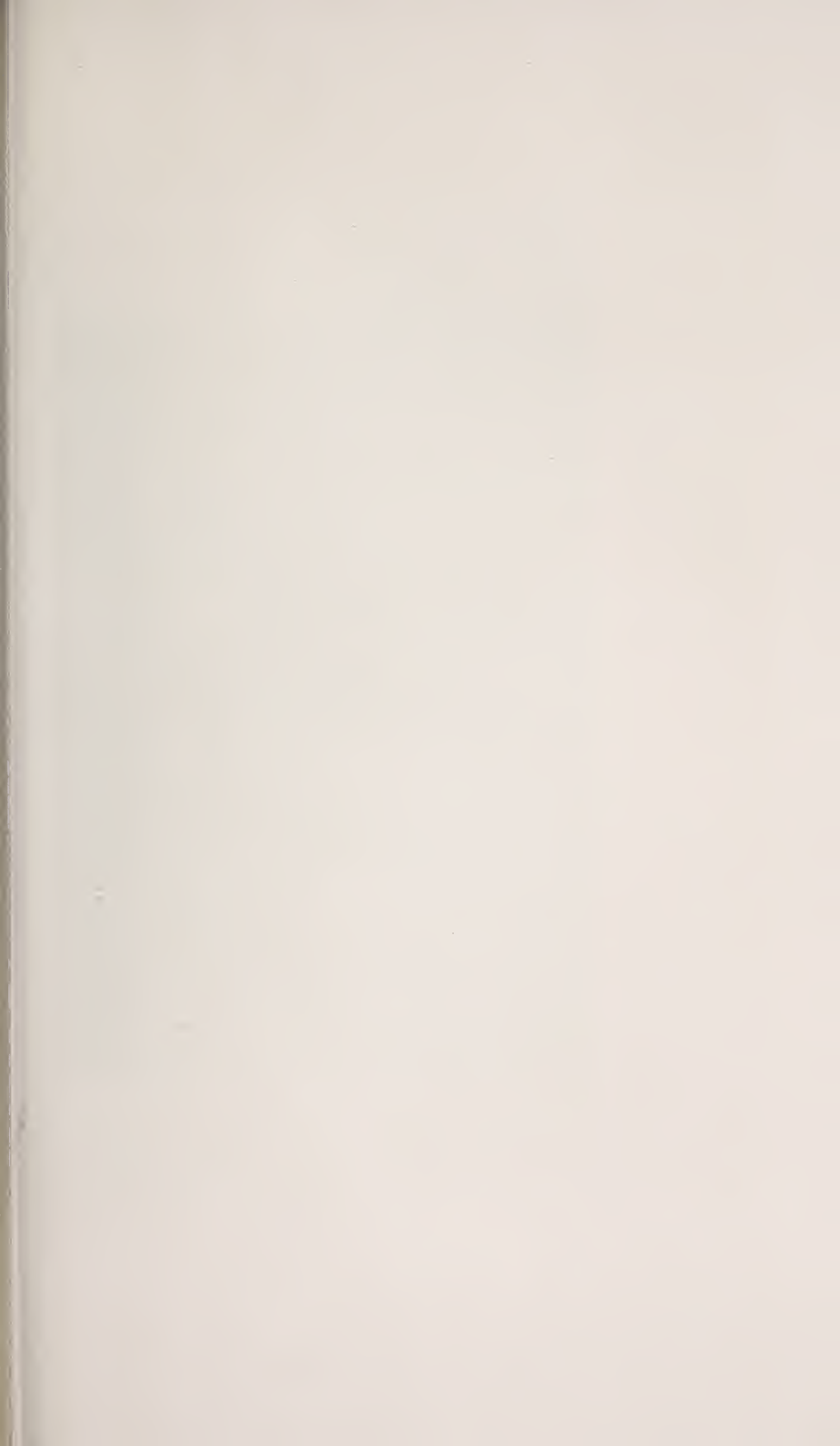
Arrived at Salem, March 5, 1810, brig *Sukey*, John Osgood, Jr., 180 days from Sumatra and twelve from Bermuda, where she was taken in by the British schooner *Juniper*, on pretence of not having cleared from her last port. She was libelled and cleared. Proceeded to Europe.

Arrived at Salem, May 28, 1810, ship *Golden Age*, Henry Prince, Jr., Sumatra, 118 days, pepper to Henry Prince and Amos Hovey. Duties, \$15,338.58. Captain Prince reported that Tappanooly was destroyed Oct. 25, by a French squadron of two frigates and a corvette, under Commodore Hamlen, which had previously captured the American ship *Samson*, Abbot, for Liverpool. He had also visited Americans from the United States and suffered them to proceed. He considered every vessel a prize bound to or from English ports.

Arrived at Salem, July 12, 1810, ship *Alfred*, of 250 tons, Stephen Williams, 190 days from Sumatra, with a full load of pepper to Joseph White, Joseph White, Jr. Wednesday noon, in sight of Cape Ann, was boarded from a small English privateer, and treated civilly. Duties, \$27,758.58.

Arrived at Salem, August 25, 1810, ship *Franklin*, Samuel Tucker, 129 days from west coast of Sumatra, with pepper to Joseph Peabody and Francis G. Clarke. Duties, \$34,661.30.

Arrived at Salem, October 30, 1810, ship *Hope*, Thomas Tate, Sumatra, 126 days, with pepper to John and James Barr. Drowned on the coast of Sumatra, by the upsetting of a boat, Captain Josiah Paige of Beverly. Duties, \$29,646.72.





SHIP "FRANKLIN," CAPTAIN SAMUEL TUCKER

Arrived at Salem, November 29, 1810, ship *Fame*, Benjamin Bullock, Sumatra 109 days, with pepper to Stephen Webb and George Crowninshield. Duties, \$36,788.04. The shortest voyage ever made from Salem, the ship having sailed from here on April 1 last.

Arrived at Salem, November 30, 1810, ship *Janus*, Endicott, 120 days from Sumatra, via Vineyard Haven. Lost overboard, on the outward passage, five days after leaving Salem, William Trask of Danvers, aged 18, a worthy and much respected young man.

Arrived at Salem, February 17, 1811, ship *Recovery*, John Carlton, Sumatra, via Provincetown and Vineyard Haven, where she was detained several days on account of bad weather. Duties, \$14,832.

Arrived at Salem, November 10, 1811, ship *Hope*, Thomas Tate, Sumatra, 117 days, with pepper to James and John Barr. Duties, \$37,346.72. Captain Tate has performed his voyage in seven months and nine days, being at least twenty days shorter than any similar voyage from the United States.

Entered at Salem, November 29, 1811, ship *Fame*, Holten J. Breed, Sumatra, with pepper to George Crowninshield and others. Duties, \$38,217.30.

Arrived at Portsmouth, N. H., October 5, 1812, ship *Perseverance*, James Silver, 110 days from Sumatra, with a full cargo of pepper, salt petre, etc., to W. Peele and Richard Wheatland of Salem and the captain. September 28, fell in with a Bermudan privateer, a three-masted lugger, which had got within a pistol shot, when two American privateers from New York, one of them commanded by Captain Story, hove in sight. The English privateer immediately crowded on all sail and sheered off, and Captain Silver thereby made his escape.

The years 1813, '14, '15, '22 and '37 passed without an entry at the Salem Custom House from Sumatra, and from 1799 to 1846 there were 179 arrivals, the years 1809, '10 and '23, showing ten arrivals each, the largest in any single year. The Sumatra trade was, at one time, mainly carried on by Salem merchants, and a large proportion of the pepper consumed was distributed to all countries from the port of Salem.

Entered November 29, 1811, ship *Fame*, Holten J. Breed, Sumatra, 92 days to Vineyard Haven, with a full cargo of pepper to George Crowninshield & Co. Performed the round voyage from Salem to Sumatra and back to Vineyard Haven in seven months and seven days, the shortest ever made between Salem and Sumatra. Lost overboard on the outward passage, Benjamin Grandy of Salem, seaman. [Note—The ship *Hope*, Captain Tate, made the round voyage between Salem and Sumatra in seven months and nine days, in 1811, as before stated.]

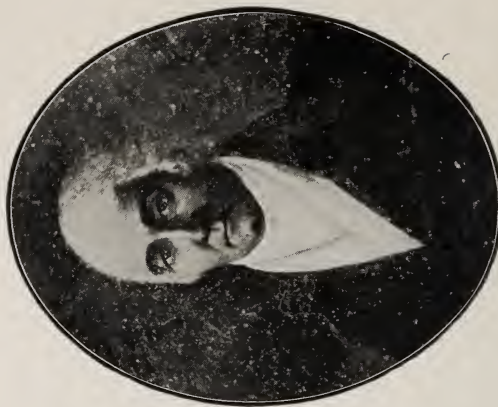
Arrived at Salem, February 29, 1816, ship *Augustus*, Samuel Rea, Sumatra, 112 days, pepper and 224 pounds of coffee to Joseph Peabody and master. Duties, \$37.10. Captain Rea was the grandfather of President Charles S. Rea of the Salem Savings Bank.

Arrived at Salem, February 29, 1816, ship *Union*, William Osgood, Penang, via Vineyard Haven, to which she was 120 days, and proceeded to Europe with her cargo. Touched at St. Helena, December 20, 1815, but was not allowed to anchor, as it is the home of Napoleon Bonaparte. Captain Osgood was the father of the late Judge Joseph B. F. Osgood of Salem.

Arrived at Salem, February 24, 1816, ship *Hercules*, Edward West, Batavia, with sugar, coffee and pepper to Nathaniel West. Duties, \$76.72. Had been to Sumatra, but could get no pepper. The *Hercules* stood close in to St. Helena, December 29, 1815. Understood that Bonaparte was in good health, and that Madame Bertrand was discontented and wished to return to France. One 74, two frigates and a brig kept constantly cruising, and everything was conducted with the greatest caution. Died on board the *Hercules*, Cutting Cilley and John Nichols, both of Salem.

Arrived at Salem, May 3, 1816, ship *Hope*, Thomas Tate, Sumatra, Calcutta and New York, with 61,640 pounds pepper to James Barr. Duties, \$7,711.10. Cleared June 19, 1816, on her return to Sumatra.

Arrived at Salem, July 12, 1816, barque *Camel*, Holten J. Breed, 120 days from Sumatra, with 4856 piculs pepper and gums to William Silsbee, J. Devereux and Joseph Mogridge. Duties, \$6,136.72. Between his voyage in



CAPTAIN EDWARD WEST
1759 - 1851



CAPTAIN WILLIAM OSGOOD
1785 - 1834



CAPTAIN JOHN ENDICOTT
1765 - 1834

the ship *Flame*, before spoken of in this article, and this voyage in the *Camel*, Captain Breed performed loyal service as a privateersman in the war of 1812.

Arrived at Salem, August 4, 1816, brig *Mary and Eliza*, Joseph Beadle, Sumatra, 127 days, with 379,635 pounds pepper to S. White and 1255 pounds to Joseph Strout. Duties, \$30,471.20.

Arrived at Salem, February 24, 1817, ship *Union*, William Osgood, Penang, with pepper to Stephen Phillips. The ship struck on Baker's Island and bilged. The *Register* says:

A violent snow storm commenced on Monday morning [Feb. 24], about 1 o'clock. Several guns of distress were fired during the morning, and at 10 o'clock news arrived that the ship *Union*, Capt. Osgood, 124 days from Pulo Penang [Prince of Wales Island], with a rich cargo of 3600 piculs of pepper and 900 piculs block tin, was ashore on Baker's Island, and bilged.

The *Union* made Thacher's Island light between 12 and 1 o'clock on Monday morning; then stood for Baker's Island, which she made about 2 o'clock, but the alterations in the lights [from two to one] since she left this port, caused some perplexity and doubt, and while deliberating she struck on the N. W. point of Baker's Island. She was kept free until nearly daylight, when she bilged, and the long boat was hoisted out, and the officers and crew landed in safety on Baker's Island. More than twenty guns were fired previous to leaving the ship. The first and second mates, Mr. Marshall and Mr. Sleuman, with three men, came up in the long boat, at great peril, to Marblehead, for the purpose of giving information and procuring assistance.

During the day the ship's main and mizzen masts were carried away, and on Monday night she drifted over the point onto the beach, where she lays broadside on. About forty men yesterday, from Marblehead, Salem and Manchester, helped to save as much of the cargo as possible, and hopes are entertained that a great part of the property will be saved.

A boat arrived at Marblehead last evening which left Baker's Island at 4 o'clock. The after part of the ship's bottom is torn off, and a great quantity of pepper is strewn along the beach. The block tin came out among the rocks where the ship first struck, previous to her drifting upon the beach. About 700 bags of pepper were saved yesterday, and they expect to save about as much more to-day, together with the sails, rigging, cables, anchors, etc.

Feb. 27, 1817—The *Union* is now a complete wreck. About 1600 bags of pepper have been saved, and it is expected that most of the block tin will also be saved. The *Union* was insured, we learn, to the amount of \$45,000. The owners were Stephen Phillips and George Pierce.

Mr. Phillips was the grandfather of Stephen W. Phillips and J. Duncan Phillips of Salem.

Captain Osgood made the following report of the disaster, which he published in the *Salem Gazette* of February 28, 1817:

Baker's Island, Feb. 27, 1817. Quarter before 12, saw Thacher Island lights from the foretopsail yard, bearing N. W. Steered N. W. by W. and W. N. W. until Baker's Island light bore W. by N., steered direct for it. At 2 A. M. set in a thick snow storm from the N. E., which hid the lights. Hauled up the courses and steered W. by N. half N., judging we were nearly up with the East Breakers. Saw nothing more of the light until within two or three cables length of it off the lee bow, when, to my great surprise, I saw but one light, and heard several persons say it was Boston light. My second officer observed, if it were, we must go to the southward of them. After a moment's reflection, and knowing the courses steered, and finding we were near the island, gave order for the helm to be put hard down, when casting my eye around I observed the helm partly up. At the same time my second officer told the steersman he was wrong and helped him to put the helm hard down. Unfortunately it was too late even for the ship to come up to her last course given, otherwise she never could have struck on the N. W. point, as she had no course given off of W. by N. half N. after the lights were hid. The ship headed W. a few minutes after she struck, and did not appear to have altered her position.

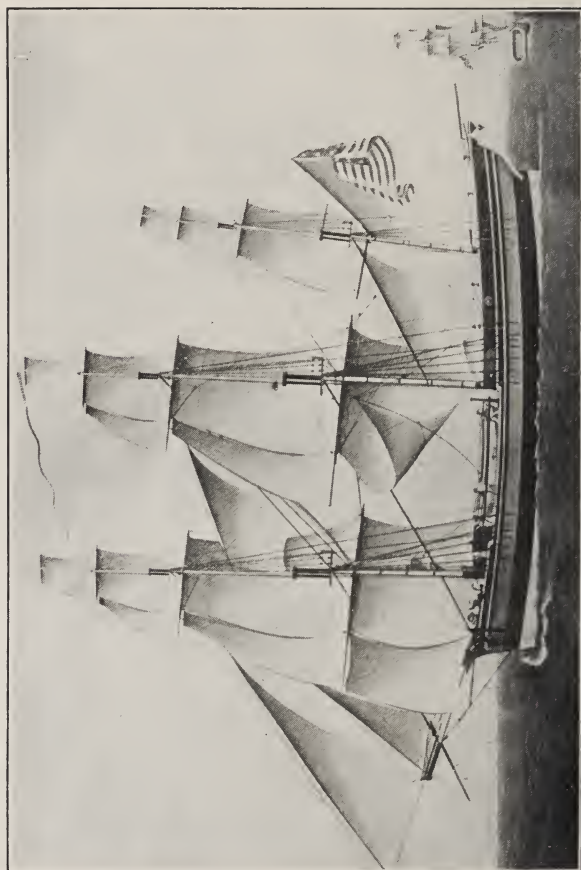
I thought every precaution was taken in due time. My first officer was on the forecastle; my second officer attended a good helmsman, and one man stood to touch the compass, lest it should not traverse. Another compass was on the hencoop, with almost a blinded lantern beside it, which I carefully attended to, particularly while the lights were shut in.

I give this as a correct statement, and wish all concerned to judge for themselves. William Osgood, master.

We believe the foregoing statement correct. (Signed) First Officer John Marshall, Second Officer Thomas Sluman.

Rev. Dr. Bentley thus speaks of the weather at this time: "Sunday, Feb. 24, 1817—Last night, after two





SHIP "UNION," WILLIAM OSGOOD, MASTER, 1815

pleasant days, while expecting our friends from the Vineyard, came on a snow storm, and the wind was very high. The barometer as low as I ever observed it, I could make no fire in my study after repeated attempts, so furiously was the smoke forced back into the chimney. A similar fact in 1792. A ship last night for this port came ashore on the north point of Baker's Island, and we were not without serious apprehension for every person who might be in the bay. The snow continued to fall all day, and is much drifted, but the thermometer at freezing. Feb. 25—The ship upon Baker's Island proves to be the ship *Union*, Osgood, from Sumatra, with pepper to Phillips & Co. of Salem. She had made Thacher's light, and pretends that the change of our lights from two to one perplexed them. As the wind was, it is to be presumed this is an excuse for bad pilotage. She lost during the day her main and mizzen masts and drifted to the beach. It is thought a great saving will be made. She had above 3600 piculs of pepper and 700 block tin."

Entered March 2, 1816, ship *Mary Ann*, Timothy Wellman, Sumatra. and proceeded to Boston, without landing any cargo at this port.

Arrived at Salem, July 2, 1817, brig *Mary and Eliza*, Joseph Beadle, Sumatra, 98 days, with coffee and pepper to Joseph Peabody. Duties, \$18,129.55. Pepper was plenty on the coast of Sumatra. The natives all along the coast were in a disturbed state.

Entered August 21, 1818, brig *Mary and Eliza*, Joseph Beadle, Sumatra, with pepper, coffee and cassia to Stephen White. Duties, \$29,952.46. Pepper scarce and high. Six days after leaving Salem on the outward passage, in September, 1816, Nathaniel Silsbee, son of Samuel Silsbee, was lost overboard from the yards.

Entered August 25, 1818, ship *Francis*, John Lord, Sumatra, and proceeded to Europe.

Entered September 11, 1818, brig *Coromandel*, Daniel Bray, Sumatra, with pepper to Silsbee & Pickman and John W. Rogers. Duties, \$45,567.20.

Entered September 4, 1818, brig *Eunice*, Penn Townsend, Sumatra, pepper to M. Townsend and J. Ropes. Duties, \$15,808.72.

Arrived at Salem, September 15, 1818, ship *Hope*,

Thomas Tate, Sumatra, 151 days, with pepper to John Barr and Joseph Andrews. Duties, \$40,220.06. Pepper was scarce at \$10. Two Acheenese brigs were at Troumon, and brought in with them a large proa from the east coast, captured off Cape Felix, and said by them to be a pirate. The west coast was lined with shipping of all nations. May 22, latitude 35 S., longitude 29 W., had a severe S. W. gale. May 24, shipped a sea which carried away the bowsprit and foremast. July 5, made the island of St. Helena. July 7, were boarded by H. M. Ship *Raccoon*, and were informed that ships in distress were allowed to anchor. July 8, were boarded by the guard-boat, which left an officer on board, who took the ship to her anchorage off Lemon Valley, and left her in charge of H. M. brig *Griffin*. Were not permitted to leave the ship or to have the least communication with any one. We were supplied by the master attendant. Sailed July 11 for Salem.

In the *Salem Register* of March 12, 1877, the late Joseph Chisholm, whose ropewalk on Washington street is still well remembered by older citizens, writes from memory an account of this disaster to the *Hope*, which is full of interest, and was originally written in a letter by one of the crew.

"A heavy wind was blowing at the time, and we were off the Cape [Good Hope], with a fair prospect of a quick passage home, the ship under easy sail. Almost instantly a calm. A heavy gale from dead head came down upon us in a moment, taking the ship aback. The foremast went by the board and the bowsprit by the gammon. The chopping sea made a scene of consternation to all on board for a few minutes. The ship was in great danger of sinking by the stern. The captain ordered two old cannon and everything movable to be carried from aft to the bow, and exertion was made to clear the wreck. Abraham Wendell, one of the crew, more expert with the axe, having worked with his father in Salem as a wheelwright, was let down over the bow to cut away the bobstay. He was successful, and the wreck was cleared. Steps were taken immediately to rig a jury mast and bowsprit. The ship made for St. Helena to secure spars, and put in there."

Continuing, Mr. Chisholm wrote in the same paper, sixty years after the occurrence of the disaster to the ship, speaking with actual knowledge and fine memory, as follows :

"The ship arrived here [Salem], September 5, of a Saturday, with substantially the same rig that was put on her after the wreck—a topmast for foremast, topsail yard for bowsprit, some slight spar for foretopmast, and long topgallantmast, the foresparring reaching to the head of the maintopmast. Great praise was awarded the officers and crew for their conduct in meeting the disaster and rescuing the ship from her perilous condition. It is a matter of some interest to name the ship's company. Thomas Tate, captain ; Robert Barr, mate ; — Porter, second mate ; John Barr, clerk ; the crew, George Gale, George Tate, William Chisholm, Samuel Lambert, Abraham Wendell. These were young Salem-born men, the eldest about 22, the youngest between 18 and 19. The whole number before the mast was eleven or twelve ; only those named are recollected, excepting one they called the old man, Joseph Penshoe. Mr. Penshoe was not of native birth. He may be remembered by some as having married Hannah Felton of Marblehead. Incidentally, it may be set down that the *Hope* was a staunch vessel of less than 300 tons and a very fast sailer. She was refitted and sailed again in November, 1818, for Sumatra.

"In those days when a square-rigged vessel of some sort, ship or brig, would arrive upon an average almost daily, during the months of August inclusive to November, from the East Indies, China, North or South of Europe, or West Indies, sometimes from South America, and each owner had his private signal, each boy having someone on board that he was interested in, when most of the officers and seamen were native born, even by law two-thirds must be native born, an interest was excited in our bosoms about maritime incidents that almost took precedence. Life was smoothed by success, or embittered by failure."

As supplementing Mr. Chisholm's interesting story of the disaster to the *Hope*, the following list of the crew is taken from the ship's roll at the Custom House of those

who shipped on her when she left Salem on this voyage : Master, Thomas Tate, Boston ; mate, Robert Barr, Salem, 24 years old ; second mate, Thomas Sluman, Salem, 24 ; seamen, James Southwick, Danvers, 20 ; John Barr, Jr., Salem, 24 ; Lucius Bacinto, Bombay, age not given ; Abraham Wendell, Jr., Salem, 19 ; Samuel Jewett, 3d, Salem, 17 ; Joseph Pincho and Moses Mead, residence not given, the former 27 and the latter 26 ; Philip F. Short, Salem, 53 ; John Brown, Charlestown, 22 ; George Gale, Salem, 17 ; William Chisholm, Salem, 17 ; George Tate, Salem, 17 ; Samuel Lambert, Salem, 17 ; Thomas Green, Africa, 20.

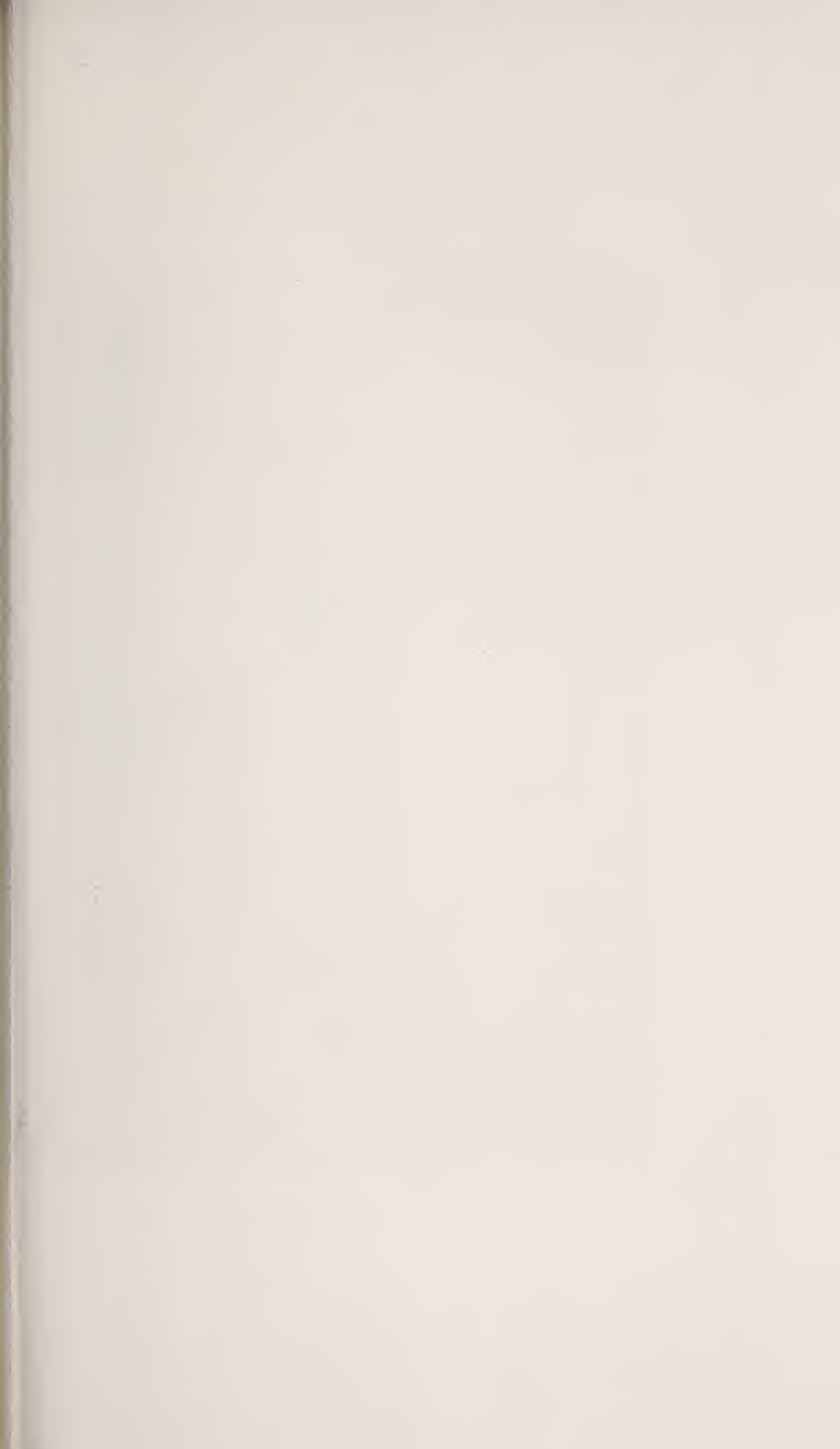
At this time she was owned by Benjamin Jacobs and Benjamin Goodridge of Danvers, and was subsequently sold to Joseph Peabody.

Arrived at Salem, September 12, 1818, brig *Nautilus*, Curran, 112 days from Sumatra, with pepper and coffee to George Nichols and others.

Arrived at Salem, October 8, 1818, ship *Argonaut*, Samuel Hodges, 145 days from Pulo Penang, Sumatra, with cargo of sugar, coffee and pepper to R. Wheatland, Willard Peele and others. Duties, \$19,015.12. Off Bermuda experienced a heavy gale and carried away fore and main-topmasts.

Arrived at New York, October 12, 1818, barque *Camel* of Salem, Holten J. Breed, 155 days from Prince of Wales Island (Sumatra), with a cargo of pepper to Messrs. Silsbee & Devereux of Salem. September 27, experienced a severe gale, about twenty miles S. E. of Bermuda, in which she lost her mainmast and foretopmast, with every yard and spar. Shifted part of cargo, which gave the vessel a list and kept the water in the larboard bilge, which could not be pumped, owing to the pepper choking the pumps. The straining of her upper works caused her to leak considerably, and Captain Breed thought it prudent to make the first port. The *Camel*, after discharging most of her cargo in New York, arrived at Salem November 20. A model and a picture of the *Camel* may be seen in the marine room of the Peabody Museum of Salem.

(To be continued)





THE U.S. SLOOP OF WAR "KEARSARGE" SINKING THE PIRATE "ALABAMA" 8 GUNS.

Off Cherbourg France, Sunday, June 19th 1864.
The "Alabama" was seen with "Kearsarge" and was sunk on the 19th of June, 1864. The "Alabama" was a pirate ship, and was sunk on the 19th of June, 1864. The "Alabama" was a pirate ship, and was sunk on the 19th of June, 1864. The "Alabama" was a pirate ship, and was sunk on the 19th of June, 1864.

THE KEARSARGE—ALABAMA BATTLE.

THE STORY AS TOLD TO THE WRITER BY JAMES MAGEE
OF MARBLEHEAD, SEAMAN ON THE KEARSARGE.

BY FRANCIS B. C. BRADLEE.

"After cruising in the English Channel for some time, there was a report that the *Alabama* was expected in some part of England, and as the English press made a great deal of talk about the *Kearsarge*, the Captain proposed to go to Belgium; arriving the 27th of May, 1864, ran into Flushing [Holland] and went into dry dock on the following day, more for a blind than for anything else, as we were never in better repair and running order than at that time. The 29th of May the Captain gave liberty to all on board to go where they pleased, with instructions if they heard a gun and saw the colors at our foremast head, to report on board as quickly as possible, as that would be the signal for sailing orders. All went well until the 10th day of June, when the signal gun was fired. All hands made for the ship, and in less than twenty minutes all the crew were ready for duty. The Captain had all hands called to lay aft. He then told us that the *Alabama* had arrived at Cherbourg, France, for repairs, and now was the time for us to strike. Then we gave three cheers, 'spliced the main brace,' and the next tide we hauled out of dry dock and put to sea, put another 'splice in the main brace' and shaped our course for Dover, England. Arriving there the 11th, at 10 o'clock A. M., took in fresh supplies, and at 12 o'clock weighed anchor and put to sea, shaping our course for Cherbourg.

NOTE. The author does not hold himself responsible for the many bitter remarks concerning Great Britain found in the following narrative. They were the result of the excited feeling in the North, due to the Civil War and the depredations of the Confederate commerce destroyers, but in order to render the story of the "Kearsarge"—"Alabama" battle as vivid as possible it has been thought best to retain the language of the original account.

"Arriving there early on the 12th, we ran into the mouth of the harbor, had a good look at our antagonist, and fired a blank shot, out of politeness, for Semmes to come out, but he did not come out that day. Here we lay off and on, running off by day and standing in by night, close enough to see all that went in and out of the harbor. We had no communication from Cherbourg up to the 16th of June; then three men pulled out from the shore in a boat, about six miles, to where we lay, came alongside, gave a note to the Captain, and then pulled back into port.

"The Captain told the boatswain to pipe all hands aft. He then produced the note, which read thus :

CAPTAIN WINSLOW :

SIR:—I am undergoing a few repairs here which, I hope, will not take longer than the morrow. Then I will come out and fight you a fair and square fight.

Most respectfully yours,

CAPTAIN R. SEMMES.

"Three days after, Sunday, June 19th, the lookout at masthead espied two steamers coming out of Cherbourg harbor, one a long, black, rakish-looking craft, looking very much like the *Alabama*. The officers and men jumped into the rigging, took a good look at both vessels, and pronounced one the *Alabama*; at the same time the other tacked-ship and put back into port. The Captain gave orders to beat to quarters, clear ship for action, and man the starboard battery. (We were laying off about six miles from shore.) Captain Winslow gave the chief engineer orders to go ahead slowly, at the same time putting the ship's head off shore. The *Alabama* gaining on us all the time, they thought we were afraid and were trying to get away from them, but it was not so, we only ran two miles farther out; then, the Captain calling us in neutral waters, 'put about,' and stood in to receive her. When within about a mile of her, she fired her bow chaser, the shot dropping very carelessly alongside our forward pivot port within about four feet of our ship's side, and doing no damage. The next shot she fired struck us in the port

bow and glanced off, doing no harm. She fired some two or three shots very wildly, that went whistling above our mastheads. During this time we did not fire one shot, but when within half a mile we hove round and gave her a broadside. Here we had it, broadside and broadside, both ships under a full head of steam, the *Alabama* firing two or three shots to our one. We engaged her at seven hundred yards, and as we fought in a circle we 'closed in' to about five hundred yards, and held this position for about half an hour. Then, finding that we were getting the best of the fight, the Captain, desiring to bring the thing to an end, closed in to about two hundred and fifty yards, and discharged a full broadside.

'The men seemed to be getting demoralized; they ran the white flag up in the main rigging and the 'secesh' flag in the fore rigging. The Captain gave orders to cease firing, and on doing so we found that they thought we were off our guard, as they let fly another broadside. One of the shots went through our smoke pipe, and a sixty-eight pounder lodged in our stern post, doing no other damage as it did not explode. We then had orders to engage her; so we began to decorate her again with our eleven-inch shell. After exchanging two or three broadsides on the second part of the fight, we found that they began to show us the cold shoulder by jumping overboard, not caring to communicate with us any longer, at the same time striking their flag and firing a lee gun as a surrender. They lowered a boat and manned it with three men and pulled toward our ship. They fired one more shot, very wildly, which struck our main-top-gallant mast and checked the halliards, and the flag flew to the breeze. The flag was run up in a ball to the masthead, and orders given to one of the men that if we should go down, to pull the halliards and go down colors flying. We did not fire on them after they struck their flag. The boat from the *Alabama* came alongside, and Lieutenant Wilson delivered up his sword and surrendered the ship, and told the Captain that if he did not make haste and get out boats to save life, that there would be a good many go down in the *Alabama*.

"All our boats were disabled but two. They were lowered and manned. Just as the boats left the ship, the *Alabama* gave two surges forward and down she went. I was in one of the boats that went to pick up the prisoners. As we began to pick them up, we heard them say that they had rather drown than to be hanged on board of that ship. Some of the men we tried to save would throw up their hands and sink down, so we were obliged to take the boat-hook and reach down three or four feet and hook them up, and some were so far gone that they died in the boats. While we were picking up the men, the *Deerhound*, one of the Royal Yacht Squadron, steamed up to within hailing distance of the ship, and the Captain asked him if he would be kind enough to assist in picking up the men and deliver them up to him, as they were his prisoners. He said he would, and steamed in among them and picked up quite a number, and among them was Captain Semmes. He then steamed off as fast as he could, taking advantage while a good part of our men were off in the boats; but if some of the rest on board at the time had had their way, I think one of those eleven-inch shells would have stopped his headway, and perhaps moored him alongside of the *Alabama*. We spent about half an hour in picking up the prisoners, then we 'stood in' for the land, and piped for dinner, and for all hands to 'splice the main brace,' after which we sat down to grub, and feeling pretty well satisfied began to talk over the fight with the Rebs. I heard one of them say he thought if they had boarded us, the result might have been different, as they were so well drilled with small arms. As they continued to boast of what they could do at boarding, we 'turned the tables' by telling them that we still had a reserve force by which we could give them an extra dose if necessity demanded, or, in other words, that we had an appliance by which we could throw scalding water to the distance of sixty feet, and we also told them if at the same time we discharged a whole broadside from our inch guns of grape and canister (as we could do), the probability is, to say the least, that they would be shaken from stem to stern.

"Here we arrived in port, and all hands called to bring ship to anchor, and not till we had arrived here did we learn how it was that the *Alabama's* men were so willing to drown. The crew told us that Captain Semmes told them if they were taken prisoners by us that every man would hang to the yard arm; and when our boats left our ship to go and pick them up, it chanced that at the same time a man was sent up aloft to reef off a whip on the main yard with which to rig the accommodation ladders, so as to enable visitors to get on board, as we were going into port. When they saw the man up there they thought that what Semmes had told them was correct, and a great many went down with that impression.

"We dropped anchor about two cable lengths astern of the French frigate *Napoleon*, and the gangway dressed to receive visitors on board. Those who came on board told us that the excitement in Cherbourg was great, that there were about forty thousand people who witnessed the fight, and that there was great betting among them as to which should be the victor—ten to five on the *Alabama*, and hard work to get anybody to take a bet at that, all odds being bet on the *Alabama*. The officers and crew of the American ship *Rockingham* also told us of the intimacy of the *Deerhound*. They said that this yacht had brought men from England here who had volunteered their services to help destroy us, and were drilled in Her Majesty's ship *Excellent* as experienced gunners. Not crediting all that these men told, some of our officers went on shore and found from good, reliable sources, that this yacht had brought twenty-five men, twelve of whom had joined the *Alabama*. The *Rockingham* belonged in Maine. She was the last vessel the *Alabama* destroyed,—twelve hours previous to her going in to Cherbourg. These men also told us that what added to the excitement of the battle was, that we were fighting in a circle and apparently got mixed; that it was impossible to tell which one had gone down, even after the fight was over, as the wind was off-shore, so that when we stood in for the land our colors trained aft, and it was impossible to tell who the victor was. We laid here three days, in which our car-

penter repaired all of our damage without any assistance from shore, with the exception of a boiler-maker, who put a patch on our smoke pipe. We got up steam at 3 o'clock P. M., weighed anchor and put to sea, escorted out by a little steam yacht chartered by a party of American gentlemen and their ladies, with a band on board and the American flag flying. The band gave us a number of national airs, and when about three miles off, outside the breakwater, steaming at about six miles an hour, they struck up the "Star Spangled Banner" and gave us three cheers. We then gave her an extra turn ahead that sent us through the water about fifteen knots, leaving them behind us. We dipped our colors, manned the yards, gave three rousing cheers, and bade adieu and a hasty farewell to the coast of France.

"We arrived at Dover, England, early on the 24th, amidst cheer after cheer that went echoing through the lofty white cliffs of Dover from a Highland Regiment and a number of others, whose acquaintance we had made while cruising in the Channel. All were anxiously waiting to learn the correct news of our loss. It had been reported that we had lost twenty-seven men and the *Alabama* had lost eight. This was the first news the English press gave of the fight, and of course they must have known better, as the *Deerhound* brought the news and Captain Semmes, too.

"That an English yacht, one belonging to the Royal Yacht Squadron and flying the white ensign, too, during the conflict, should have assisted the Confederate prisoners to escape after they had formally surrendered themselves, according to their own statements, by firing a lee gun, striking their colors, hoisting a white flag and sending a boat to the *Kearsarge*, some of which signals must have been seen on board the yacht, is most humiliating to the national honor. The movement of the yacht early on Sunday morning was, as before shown, most suspicious, and had our captain followed the advice and reiterated request of the crew and officers, the *Deerhound* might have been lying not far distant from the *Alabama*. The captain could not believe that a gentleman who was asked

by himself to save life would use the opportunity to decamp with the officers and men, who, according to their own act, were prisoners of war. There is a high presumptive evidence that the *Deerhound* was at Cherbourg for the express purpose of rendering every assistance possible to the corsair, and we may be permitted to doubt whether Mr. Lancaster, the friend of Mr. Laird and a member of the Mersey Yacht Club, would have carried us to Southampton if the result of the struggle had been reversed and the *Alabama* had sent the *Kearsarge* to the bottom. The *Deerhound* reached Cherbourg on the 17th of June, and between that time and the night of the 18th a boat was observed from the shore passing frequently between her and the *Alabama*. This I got from men taken from different merchant ships by the *Alabama* and landed in Cherbourg.

"The ship was open for visitors at Dover, and at 8 bells they were shown on board. In less than ten minutes our decks were full of people. Here we lay for several days, with beautiful weather, and our ship thronged with visitors from morning till night. Boats and yachts of all descriptions and steamers from London with bands of music playing 'Yankee Doodle' and other airs for the occasion, all packed to their utmost with ladies and gentlemen, came to visit us, and everybody seemed to be having a good time. We had fiddling and dancing on board and some games of amusement, which gave the whole thing a lively appearance. The poor boatmen wished the thing would hold on three months, for they never made so much money by boating in their lives as they had since we had come. One of our visitors was the Lord Warden. In the course of conversation he said to one of the old salts, 'I suppose you credit our noble *Armstrong* guns for the victory you have won, do you not?' The old salt said, 'My good man, we have no such guns on board here, nothing but good old Yankee guns, and between you and me they are d—d *headstrong* guns!' We lay here till July 9th, 1864, all enjoying a good time as before stated, when the captain's gig or boat came alongside and he came on board. He then

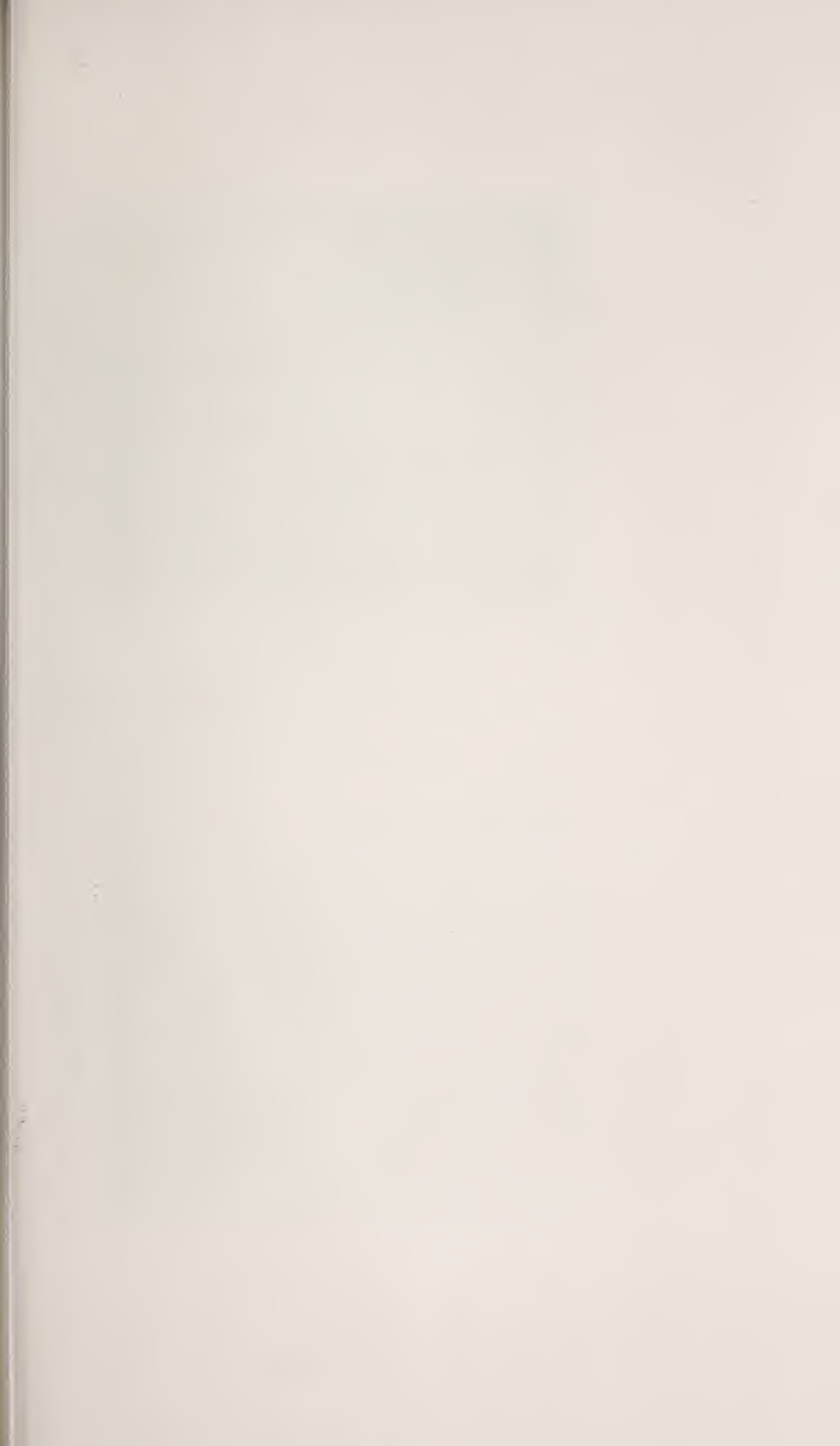
gave orders to the boatswain to pipe all hands to get anchor for the United States and all visitors to leave the ship. Why, my friend, you can just imagine our feelings. Here we were bordering on the fourth year of our cruise, and the last news we had from home was that we should not be called home till the career of the *Alabama* was ended. For some reason or other, this was the first time during the whole cruise that I ever heard anything that sounded musical in our boatswain's voice. The visitors all out of the ship, steam up, and all ready to heave away, and at 11 o'clock A. M., we bent on our long streaming pennant and cat-headed the anchor, manned the yards and gave three cheers, dipped our colors, squared away, steaming about twelve knots an hour, bidding adieu to the people of England and France, homeward bound.

"Such are the facts relating to the memorable action off Cherbourg on the nineteenth of June, eighteen hundred and sixty-four. The *Alabama* went down, riddled through and through with shot and shell, and as she sank beneath the green waves of the English Channel, not a single cheer arose from us of the *Kearsarge*. Our noble Lieutenant Commander, James S. Thornton, gave the command, 'Silence, boys!' and in perfect silence this terror of our American commerce plunged forward twice or thrice and down she went forty fathoms deep in her own waters, and amidst the hideous howls of her officers and crew."

ENGLISH ACCOUNT OF THE BATTLE.

As it will interest Americans to read an Englishman's version of this noted sea fight, a narrative written and published in pamphlet form in England within a few days of the fight, is given. Mr. Magee says: "My countrymen may well look with pride on our brave tars, when their gallantry stands out so conspicuously, even when seen from an Englishman's standpoint."

The importance of the engagement between the United States sloop-of-war *Kearsarge* and the Confederate man-of-war *Alabama* cannot be estimated by the size of the two vessels. The conflict off Cherbourg on Sunday, the





CAPTAIN JOHN A. WINSLOW
of the "Kearsarge"



CAPTAIN RAPHAEL SEMMES
of the "Alabama"

19th of June, was the first decisive engagement between shipping propelled by steam, and the first test of the merits of modern naval artillery. It was, moreover, a contest for superiority between the ordnance of Europe and America, whilst the result furnishes us with data wherewith to estimate the relative advantages of rifled and smooth-bore cannon at short range.

Perhaps no greater or more numerous misrepresentations were ever made in regard to an engagement than in reference to the one in question. The first news of the conflict came to us enveloped in a mass of statements, the greater part of which, not to use an unparliamentary expression, were diametrically opposed to the truth; and although several years have now elapsed since the *Alabama* followed her many defenceless victims to their watery grave, these misrepresentations obtain as much credence as ever. The victory of the *Kearsarge* was accounted for, and the defeat of the *Alabama* excused or palliated, by the following reasons:

1. The superior size and speed of the *Kearsarge*.
2. The superiority of her armament.
3. The chain-plating of her sides.
4. The lack of preparation of the *Alabama*.
5. The greater number of her crew.
6. The assumed necessity (as represented) of Captain Semmes accepting the challenge sent him by the commander of the *Kearsarge*.

Besides these misstatements, there have been others put forth, either in ignorance of the real facts of the case, or with a purposed intention of diminishing the merit of the victory by casting odium upon the Federals on the score of inhumanity. In the former category must be placed the remarks of the *Times*, June 21; but it is just to state that the observations in question were made on receipt of the first news and from information furnished probably by parties unconnected with the paper, and desirous of palliating the *Alabama's* defeat by any means in their power. We are informed in the article above referred to that the guns of the latter vessel had been pointed for 2,000 yards, and the second shot went

right through the *Kearsarge*, whereas no shot whatever went through as stated. Again, "the *Kearsarge* fired about one hundred (shot), chiefly eleven-inch shell," the fact being that not one-third of her projectiles were of that calibre. Further on we find, "the men (of the *Alabama*) were all true to the last, they only ceased firing when the water came to the muzzles of their guns." Such a declaration as this is laughable in the extreme. The *Alabama's* guns were all on the spardeck, like those of the *Kearsarge*, and to achieve what the *Times* represented her men must have fought on until the hull of their vessel was two feet under water. The truth is, if the evidence of the prisoners saved by the *Kearsarge* may be taken, Captain Semmes hauled down his flag immediately after being informed by his chief engineer that the water was putting out the fire; and within a few minutes the water gained so rapidly on the vessel that her bow rose slowly in the air, and half her guns obtained a greater elevation than they had ever known previously.

It is unfortunate to find such cheap-novel style of writing in a paper, which at some future period may be referred to as an authoritative chronicler of events now transpiring. It would be too long a task to notice all the numerous misstatements of private individuals and of the English and French press in reference to this action. The best mode is to give the facts as they occurred, leaving the public to judge by internal evidence on which side the truth exists.

The *Kearsarge* in size is by no means the terrible craft represented by those who, for some reason or other, seek to detract from the honor of her victory. She appeared to me a mere yacht in comparison with the shipping around her, and disappointed many of the visitors who came to see her. The relative proportions of the two antagonists were as follows:

	<i>Alabama</i>	<i>Kearsarge</i>
Length over all,	220 feet	232 feet
Length of keel,	210 "	198½ "
Beam,	32 "	33 "
Depth,	17 "	16 "
Horse power, two engines of	300 each	400 horse power
Tonnage,	1040	1031

The *Alabama* was a barque-rigged screw propeller, and the heaviness of her rig, and, above all, the greater size and height of her masts, would give her the appearance of a much larger vessel than her antagonist. The masts of the latter are disproportionately low and small. She has never carried more than topsail yards, and depends for her speed upon her machinery alone. It is to be questioned whether the *Alabama*, with all her reputation for velocity, could in her best trim outsteam her rival. The log book of the *Kearsarge*, which I was courteously permitted to examine, frequently shows a speed of upwards of fourteen knots the hour, and her engineers state that her machinery was never in better working order than at the present time. I have not seen engines more compact in form nor apparently in finer condition, looking in every part as though they were fresh from the workshop, instead of being, as they were, half through the third year of the cruise.

Ships-of-war, however, whatever may be their tonnage, are nothing more than platforms for carrying artillery. The only mode by which to judge of the strength of the two vessels is in comparing their armaments; and herein we find the equality of the antagonists as fully exemplified as in the respective proportions of their hulls and steam power. The armaments of the *Alabama* and *Kearsarge* were as follows:

<i>Armament of the Alabama.</i>	<i>Armament of the Kearsarge.</i>
One 7-inch Blakely rifle	Two 11-inch smooth-bore guns
One 8-inch smooth-bore 68 pounder	One 30 pounder rifle
Six 32 pounders	Four 32 pounders

It will therefore be seen that the *Alabama* had the advantage of the *Kearsarge*—at least in the number of her guns, while the weight of the latter's broadside was only some twenty per cent. greater than her own. This disparity, however, was more than made up by the greater rapidity of the *Alabama's* firing, and, above all, by the superiority of her artillery-men. The *Times* informs us that Captain Semmes asserts "he owes his best men to the training they received on board the *Excellent*;" and trained gunners must naturally be superior to the volun-

teer gunners on board the *Kearsarge*. Each vessel fought all her guns, with the exception in either case of one 32-pounder on the starboard side; but the struggle was really decided by the two 11-inch Dahlgren smooth-bores of the *Kearsarge*, against the 7-inch Blakely rifle and the heavy 68-pounder pivot of the *Alabama*. The *Kearsarge* certainly carried a small rifled 30-pounder in pivot on her forecastle, and this gun was fired several times before the rest were brought into play, but the gun in question was never regarded as other than a failure, and the Ordnance Department of the United States Navy has given up its manufacture.

Great stress has been laid upon the chain-plating of the *Kearsarge*, and it is assumed by interested parties that but for this armour the contest would have resulted differently. A pamphlet published in the city of London, entitled "The Career of the *Alabama*," makes the following statements:—"The Federal Government had fitted out the *Kearsarge*, a new vessel of great speed, iron-coated, etc." (page 23). "She, the *Kearsarge*, appeared to be temporarily plated with iron chains" (page 38). (In the previous quotation it would appear she had been so plated by the Federal Government; both statements are absolutely incorrect, as will shortly be seen.) "It was frequently observed that shot and shell struck against the side of the *Kearsarge* and harmlessly rebounded, bursting outside and doing no damage to the Federal crew. Another advantage accruing from this was that it sunk her very low in the water, so low, in fact, that the heads of the men who were in the boats were on the level of the *Kearsarge's* deck (page 39). As before observed, the sides of the *Kearsarge* were trailed all over with chain cable" (page 41).

The author of the pamphlet in question has judiciously refrained from giving his name. A greater number of more unblushing misrepresentations never were contained in an equal space. In his official report to the Confederate Envoy, Mr. Mason, Captain Semmes makes the following statements:

"At the end of the engagement it was discovered by

those of our officers who went alongside the enemy's ship with the wounded, that her midship section on both sides was thoroughly iron-coated, this having been done with chain constructed for the purpose, placed perpendicularly from the rail to the water's edge, the whole covered over by a thin outer planking, which gave no indication of the armor beneath. This planking had been ripped off in every direction by our shot and shell, the chain broken and indented in many places, and forced partly into the ship's side. She was most effectually guarded, however, in this section from penetration. The enemy was heavier than myself, both in ship, battery and crew, but I did not know until the action was over that she was all iron-clad."

As soon as Captain Semmes reached the *Deerhound* the yacht steamed off at full speed towards Southampton, and Semmes wrote his report of the fight either in England or on board the English vessel. Probably the former, for he dates his communication to Mr. Mason, "Southampton, June 21, 1864." How did he obtain intelligence from those of his officers who went alongside the enemy's ship, and who would naturally be detained as prisoners of war? It was impossible for anybody to reach Southampton in the time specified; nevertheless he did obtain such information. One of his officers, George T. Fullam, an Englishman, unfortunately came to the *Kearsarge* in a boat at the close of the action, representing the *Alabama* to be sinking, and that if the *Kearsarge* did not hasten to get out boats to save life, the crew must go down with her. Not a moment was to be lost, and he offered to go back to his own vessel to bring off prisoners, pledging his honor to return when the object was accomplished. After picking up several men struggling in the water, he steered directly for the *Deerhound*, and on reaching her actually cast his boat adrift. It was subsequently picked up by the *Kearsarge*. Fullam's name appears amongst the list of saved by the *Deerhound*, and he, with others of the *Alabama's* officers who had received a similar permission from their captors, and had similarly broken their troth, of course gave the above information to their veracious captain.

The chain-plating of the *Kearsarge* was decided upon in this wise: The vessel lay off Fayal towards the latter part of April, 1863, on the lookout for a notorious blockade-runner named the *Juno*. The *Kearsarge* was short of coal and fearing some attempts at opposition on the part of her prey, the executive officer of the sloop, Lieutenant Commander James S. Thornton suggested to Captain Winslow the advisability of hanging her spare anchor-cable over her sides, so as to protect her midship section. Mr. Thornton had served on board the flagship of Admiral Farragut, the *Hartford*, when she and the rest of the Federal fleet ran the forts of the Mississippi to reach New Orleans, and he made the suggestion at Fayal through having seen the advantage gained by it on that occasion. I now copy the following extract from the log-book of the *Kearsarge*:

Horta Bay, Fayal, May 1st, 1863.

From 8 to Merid. Wind, E. N. E. (F. 2). Weather, b. c. Strapped, loaded and fused (5 sec fuse), 13 11-inch shell. Commenced armor plating ship, using sheet chain. Weighed kedge anchor.

Signed, E. M. STODDARD, Acting Master.

This operation of chain-armoring took three days, and was effected without assistance from the shore and at an expense of material of seventy-five dollars. In order to make the addition less unsightly, the chains were boxed over with inch-dealboards, forming a case or box, which stood out at right angles from the vessel's sides. This box would naturally excite curiosity in every port where the *Kearsarge* touched, and no mystery was made as to what the boarding covered. Captain Semmes was perfectly cognizant of the entire affair, notwithstanding his shameless assertion of ignorance; for he spoke about it to his officers and crew several days prior to the 19th of June, declaring that the chains were only attached together with rope-yarns and would drop into the water when struck with the first shot. I was so informed by his own wounded men, lying in the naval hospital at Cherbourg. Whatever might be the value for defence of this chain-plating, it was only struck once during the engagement, so far as I could discover by a long and close inspection.

Some of the officers of the *Kearsarge* asserted to me that it was struck twice, while others deny that declaration; in one spot, however, a 32-pounder shot broke in the deal-covering and smashed a single link, two-thirds of which fell into the water.

Had the cable been struck by the rifled 120-pounder instead of by a 32, the result might have been different, but in any case the damage would have amounted to nothing serious, for the vessel's side was hit five feet above the water line and nowhere in the vicinity of the boilers or machinery. Captain Semmes evidently regarded this protection of the chains as little worth; for he might have adopted the same plan before engaging the *Kearsarge*, but he confined himself to taking on board one hundred and fifty tons of coal as a protection to his boilers, which, in addition to the two hundred tons already in his bunkers, would bring him pretty low in the water. The *Kearsarge*, on the contrary, was deficient in her coal, and she took what was necessary on board during her stay at Cherbourg.

The quantity of chain used on each side of the vessel in this much-talked-of armoring is only one hundred and twenty fathoms, and it covers a space amidships of forty-nine feet six inches in length by six feet two inches in depth. The chain, which is single, not double, was and is stopped by eye-bolts with rope-yarn and by iron clogs. Is it reasonable to suppose that this plating of one and seven-tenths inch iron (the thickness of the links of the chain) could offer serious resistance to the heavy 68-pounder and the 7-inch Blakely rifle of the *Alabama*, at the comparatively close range of seven hundred yards? What, then, becomes of the mistaken remark of the *Times* that the *Kearsarge* was provided, as it turned out, with some special contrivances for protection, or Semmes' declaration that she was iron-clad?

The "Career of the *Alabama*," in referring to this chain-plating, says: "Another advantage accruing from this was that it sank her very low in the water, so low, in fact, that the heads of the men who were in the boats were on the level of the *Kearsarge's* deck." It is simply

ridiculous to suppose that the weight of two hundred and forty fathoms of chain could have any such effect upon a vessel of one thousand tons' burden, whilst, in addition, the cable itself was part of the ordinary gear of the ship. Further, the *Kearsarge* was deficient in seventy tons of coal of her proper supply at the time of action, while the *Alabama* had three hundred and fifty tons on board.

The objection that the *Alabama* was short-handed does not appear to be borne out by the facts of the case, while on the other hand a greater number of men than were necessary to work the guns and ship would be more of a detriment than a benefit to the *Kearsarge*. The latter vessel had twenty-two officers on board and one hundred and forty men; the *Alabama* is represented to have had only one hundred and twenty in her crew (Mr. Mason's statement); but if her officers be included in this number, the assertion is obviously incorrect, for the *Kearsarge* saved sixty-seven, the *Deerhound* forty-one, and the French pilot boats twelve, and this without mentioning the thirteen accounted for as killed and wounded and others who went down with the ship. If Captain Semmes' representations were correct in regard to his being short-handed, he certainly ought not to be trusted with the command of a vessel again, however much he may be esteemed by some parties for his Quixotism "in challenging an antagonist (to use his own words) heavier than myself both in ship, battery and crew."

The assertion that the *Alabama* was unprepared is about as truthful as the other representations, if we may take Captain Semmes' report and certain facts in rebutting evidence. The captain writes to Mr. Mason: "I cannot deny myself the pleasure of saying that Mr. Kell, my first lieutenant, deserves great credit for the fine condition in which the ship went into action." But if Captain Semmes was right in the alleged want of preparation, he himself is alone to blame. He had ample time for protecting his vessel and crew in all possible manners; he, not the *Kearsarge*, was the aggressor, and but for his forcing the fight the *Alabama* might still be riding inside Cherbourg breakwater. Notwithstanding the horrible cause for which





THE CONFEDERATE STATES STEAMER "ALABAMA"
From the painting by Walters



THE UNITED STATES SLOOP-OF-WAR "KEARSARGE"

he was struggling, and the atrocious depredations he has committed upon helpless merchantmen, we can still admire the daring he evinced in sallying forth from a secure haven and gallantly attacking his opponent, but when he professes ignorance of the character of his antagonist, and unworthily attempts to disparage the victory of his foe, we forget all our first sympathies, and condemn the moral nature of the man, as he has forced us to do his judgment. Nor must it be forgotten that the *Kearsarge* has had fewer opportunities for repairs than the *Alabama*, and that she has been cruising around in all seas for a much longer period than her antagonist. The *Alabama*, on the contrary, had lain for many days in Cherbourg, and she only steamed forth when her captain supposed her to be in at least as good a condition as the enemy.

Finally, the challenge to fight was given by the *Alabama* to the *Kearsarge*, not by the *Kearsarge* to the *Alabama*. The "Career of the *Alabama*," above referred to, makes the following romantic statement:

"When he (Semmes) was challenged by the commander of the *Kearsarge*, everybody in Cherbourg, it appears, said it would be disgraceful if he refused the challenge, and this, coupled with his belief that the *Kearsarge* was not so strong as she really proved to be, made him agree to fight."

The "Career of the *Alabama*" gives a letter from her surgeon addressed to a gentleman in the city of London. The letter reads as follows:

CHERBOURG, June 14, 1864.

DEAR TRAVERS:

Here we are. I send this by a gentleman coming to London. An enemy is outside. If she only stays long enough, we go out and fight her. If I live, expect to see me in London shortly. If I die, give my best love to all who know me.

If Monsieur A. de Caillet should call on you, please show him every attention.

I remain, dear Travers, ever yours,

D. H. LLEWELLYN.

There were two brave gentlemen on board the *Alabama*—poor Llewellyn, who nobly refused to save his own life

by leaving his wounded, and a young lieutenant, Mr. Joseph Wilson, who honorably delivered up his sword on the deck of the *Kearsarge*, when the other officers threw theirs into the water.

The most unanswerable proof of Captain Semmes having challenged the commander of the *Kearsarge* is to be found in the following letter addressed by him to the Confederate consul, or agent, at Cherbourg.

After the publication of this document, it is to be hoped we shall hear no more of Captain Winslow's having committed such a breach of discipline and etiquette as that of challenging a rebel against his government.

C. S. S. ALABAMA, CHERBOURG, June 14, 1864.

TO AD. BONFILS, ESQ., CHERBOURG:

SIR:—I hear that you were informed by the United States consul that the *Kearsarge* was to come to this port solely for the prisoners captured by me, and that she was to depart in twenty-four hours. I desire you to say to the United States consul that my intention is to fight the *Kearsarge* as soon as I can make the necessary arrangements. I hope these will not detain me more than until to-morrow evening, or after the morrow morning at farthest. I beg she will not depart before I am ready to go out.

I have the honor to be,

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

R. SEMMES, Captain.

Numerous facts serve to prove that Captain Semmes had made every preparation to engage the *Kearsarge*, and that widespread publicity had been given to his intention. As soon as the arrival of the Federal vessel was known at Paris, an American gentleman of high position came down to Cherbourg, with instructions for Captain Winslow; but so desirous were the French authorities to preserve a really honest neutrality, that permission was only granted to him to sail to her after his promising to return to shore immediately on the delivery of his message. Once back in Cherbourg, and about to return to Paris, he was advised to remain over night, as the *Alabama* intended to fight the *Kearsarge* next day (Sunday). On Sunday morning an excursion train arrived from the capitol, and the visitors were received at the terminus of

the railway by the boatmen of the port, who offered them boats for the purpose of seeing a genuine naval battle, which was to take place during the day. Turning such a memorable occurrence to practical uses, Monsieur Rondin, a celebrated photographic artist on the Place d'Armes at Cherbourg, prepared the necessary chemicals, plates and camera, and placed himself on the summit of the old Church tower, which the whilom denizens of Cherbourg had very properly built in happy juxtaposition with his establishment. I was only able to see the negative, but that was quite sufficient to show that the artist had obtained a very fine view indeed of the exciting contest.

At the expiration of one hour and two minutes from the first gun, the *Alabama* hauled down her colors and fired a lee gun (according to the statements of her officers), in token of surrender. Captain Winslow could not, however, believe that the enemy had struck, as his own vessel had received so little damage, and he could not regard his antagonist as much more injured than himself; and it was only when a boat came off from the *Alabama* that her true condition was known. The 11-inch shell from the *Kearsarge*, thrown with fifteen pounds of powder at seven hundred yards' range, had gone clean through the star-board side of the steamer, bursting in the port side and tearing great gaps in her timber and planking. This was plainly obvious when the *Alabama* settled by the stern and raised the fore part of her hull high out of water.

The *Kearsarge* was struck twenty-seven times during the conflict, and fired in all one hundred and seventy-three (173) shots. These were as follows:

Shots Fired by the Kearsarge.

Two 11-inch guns.....	55 shots
Rifle on forecastle.....	48 "
Broadside 32-pounders.....	60 "
12-pounder boat-howitzer.....	10 "
<hr/>	
Total.....	173 "

The last named gun performed no part whatever in sinking the *Alabama*, and was only used in the action to

create laughter among the sailors. Two old quartermasters, the two Dromios of the *Kearsarge*, were put in charge of this gun, with instructions to fire when they received the order. But the two old salts, little relishing the idea of having nothing to do while their messmates were so actively engaged, commenced peppering away with their pea-shooter of a piece, alternating their discharges with vituperation of each other. This low comedy by-play amused the ship's company, and the officers good-humoredly allowed the farce to continue until the single box of ammunition was exhausted.

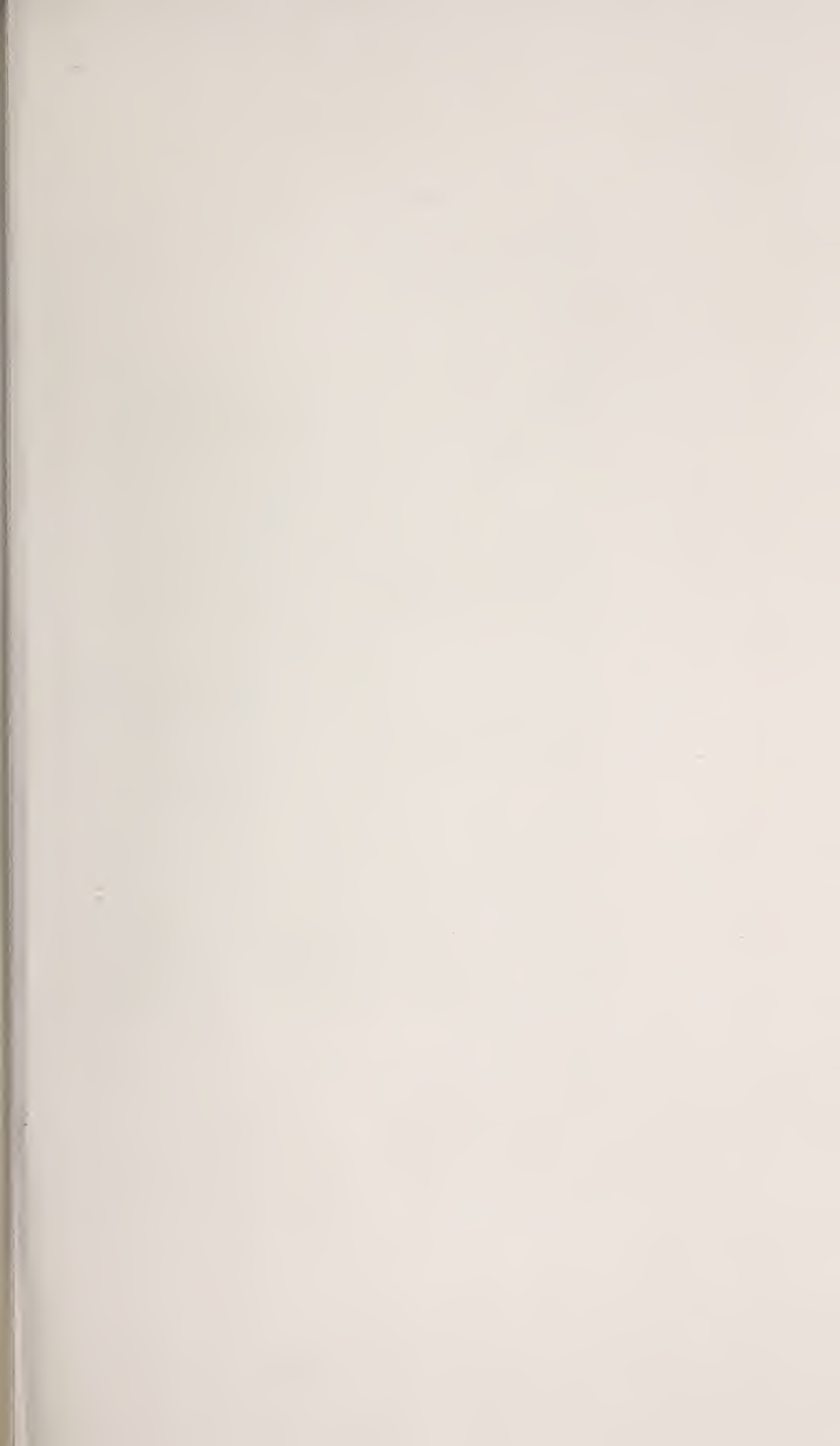
The *Kearsarge* was struck as follows :

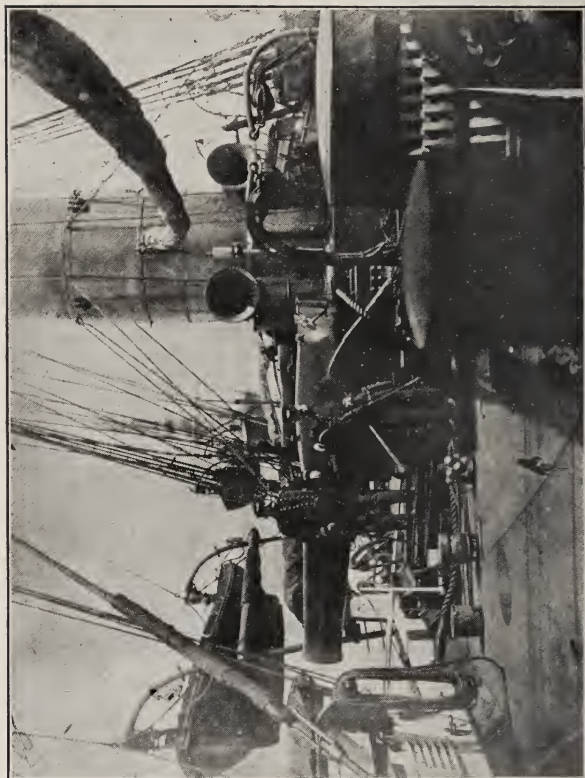
One shot through starboard quarter, taking a slanting direction aft, lodging in the rudder post. This shot was from the Blakely rifle. One shot, carrying away starboard lifebuoy. Three 32-pounder shots through port bulwarks, forward of mizzen-mast.

A shell, exploding after end of pivot port. A shell, exploding after end of chain-plating. A 68-pounder shell, passing through starboard bulwarks below main-rigging, wounding three men.

A Blakely rifle shell, passing through the engine room skylight, and dropping harmlessly into the water beyond the vessel. Two shots below plank-sheer, abreast of boiler-hatch. One, forward pivot port plank-sheer. One, forward foremast rigging. A shot, striking launch's spring-lift. A rifle shell, passing through funnel, bursting, without damage, inside. One, starboard forward main-shroud. One, starboard after shroud, maintopmast rigging. One, maintopsail tie. One, maintopsail outhaul. One, maintopsail runner. Two, through port quarter boat. One, through spanker (furled). One, starboard forward shroud, mizzen rigging. One, starboard mizzen-topmast backstay. One, through mizzen peak signal halyards, which cut the stops when the battle was nearly over, and for the first time let loose the flag to the breeze.

This list of damages received by the *Kearsarge* proves the exceedingly bad fire of the *Alabama*, notwithstanding the number of men on board the latter belonging to the "Naval Reserve" and the trained hands from the gunnery





"CANONS DE TRIBORD DU KEARSARGE"
From a negative made in Cherbourg after the Battle

hip *Excellent*. I was informed by some of the paroled prisoners on shore at Cherbourg that Captain Semmes fired rapidly at the commencement of the action, "in order to frighten the Yankees," nearly all the officers and crew being, as he was well aware, merely volunteers from the merchant service. At the expiration of twenty minutes after the *Kearsarge* discharged the first broadside, continuing the battle in a leisurely, cool manner, Semmes remarked: "Confound them; they've been fighting twenty minutes, and they're as cool as posts."

From the time of her first reaching Cherbourg until she finally quitted the port, the *Kearsarge* never received the slightest assistance from shore, with the exception of that rendered by a boiler-maker in patching up her funnel. Every other repair was completed by her own hands, and she might have crossed the Atlantic immediately after the action without difficulty. So much for Mr. Lancaster's statement that "the *Kearsarge* was apparently much disabled."

The first accounts received of the action led us to suppose that Captain Semmes' intention was to lay his vessel alongside of us, and to carry her by boarding. Whether this information came from the captain himself, or was made out of "whole cloth" by some of his admirers, I do not know. The idea of boarding a vessel under steam,—unless her engines, or screw, or rudder be disabled,—is manifestly ridiculous. The days of boarding are gone by, except under the contingencies above stated; and any such attempt on the part of the *Alabama* would have been attended with disastrous results to herself and crew. To have boarded the *Kearsarge*, Semmes must have possessed greater speed to enable him to run alongside of her; and the moment the pursuer came near her victim, the latter would shut off steam, drop astern in a second of time, sheer off, discharge her whole broadside of grape and canister, and rake her antagonist from stem to stern. Our pro-Southern sympathizers really ought not to make their protegee appear ridiculous by ascribing to him such an egregious intention.

The *Kearsarge* had three men wounded by the same shot, a 68-pounder, which passed through the starboard bulwarks

below main-rigging, narrowly escaping the after 11-inch pivot gun. The fuses employed by the *Alabama* were villainously bad, several shells having lodged in the *Kearsarge* without taking effect. Had the 7-inch rifle shot exploded, which entered the vessel at the starboard quarter, raising the deck by its concussion several inches and lodging in the rudder-post, the action might have lasted some time longer. It would not, however, have altered the result, for the casualty occurred toward the close of the conflict. The officer in charge of the piece informed me that the concussion actually raised the gun and carriage; and, had it exploded, many of the crew would have been injured by the fragments and splinters.

Among the incidents of the fight, the *Times* relates that an 11-inch shell from the *Kearsarge* fell upon the deck of the *Alabama*, and was immediately taken up and thrown overboard. Probably no fight ever occurred in modern times in which somebody didn't pick up a live shell and throw it out of harm's way; but we may be permitted to doubt in this case. Five-second fuses take effect somewhat rapidly; the shot weighs considerably more than a hundred weight, and is uncomfortably difficult to handle. Worse than all for the probabilities of the story, fifteen pounds of powder—never more nor less—were used to every shot fired from the 11-inch pivots, the *Kearsarge* only opening fire from them when within eight hundred yards of the *Alabama*. With fifteen pounds of powder and fifteen degrees of elevation, I have myself seen these 11-inch Dahlgrens throw three and one-half miles; and yet we are asked to credit that, with the same charge, at less than half a mile, one of the shells fell upon the deck of the *Alabama*. There were eleven marines in the crew of the *Kearsarge*; probably the story was made for them.

Captain Semmes makes the following statement in his official report:

"Although we were now but four hundred yards from each other, the enemy fired upon me five times after my colors had been struck. It is charitable to suppose that a ship of war of a Christian nation could not have done this intentionally."

A very nice appeal, after the massacre of Fort Pillow, especially when coming from a man who had spent the previous two years of his life in destroying unresisting merchantmen.

The captain of the *Kearsarge* was never aware of the *Alabama* having struck until a boat put off from her to his own vessel. Prisoners subsequently stated that she had fired a lee gun, but the fact was not known on board the Federal ship, nor that the colors were hauled down in token of surrender. A single fact will prove the humanity with which Captain Winslow conducted the fight. At the close of the action his deck was found to be literally covered with grape and canister, ready for close quarters; but he had never used a single charge of all this during the contest, although within capital range for employing it.

Captain Semmes put in the custom house the following valuables: 38 kilo. 700 gr. of gold coin, 6 gr. of jewelry and set diamonds, 2 gold watches.

What, then, became of the pillage of a hundred merchantmen, the chronometers, etc., which the *Times* describes as the "spolia opima of a whole mercantile fleet?" These could not be landed on French soil, and were not; did they go to the bottom with the ship herself, or are they saved? Captain Semmes' preparations were apparently completed on the 16th, but still he lingers behind the famous breakwater, much to the surprise of his men. The *Deerhound* arrives at length, and the preparations are rapidly completed. How unfortunate that Mr. Lancaster did not favor the *Times* with a copy of his log-book from the 12th to the 19th of June inclusive.

The record of the *Deerhound* is suggestive on the morning of that memorable Sunday. She steams out from behind the Cherbourg breakwater at an early hour, scouts hither and thither, apparently purposeless, runs back to her anchorage, precedes the *Alabama* to sea, is the solitary and close spectator of the fight, whilst the *Couronne* has the delicacy to return to port, and finally, having picked up Semmes, thirteen of his officers and a few of his men, steams off at fullest speed to Southampton, leav-

ing the "apparently much disabled *Kearsarge*" (Mr. Lancaster's own words) to save two-thirds of the *Alabama*'s crew struggling in the water.

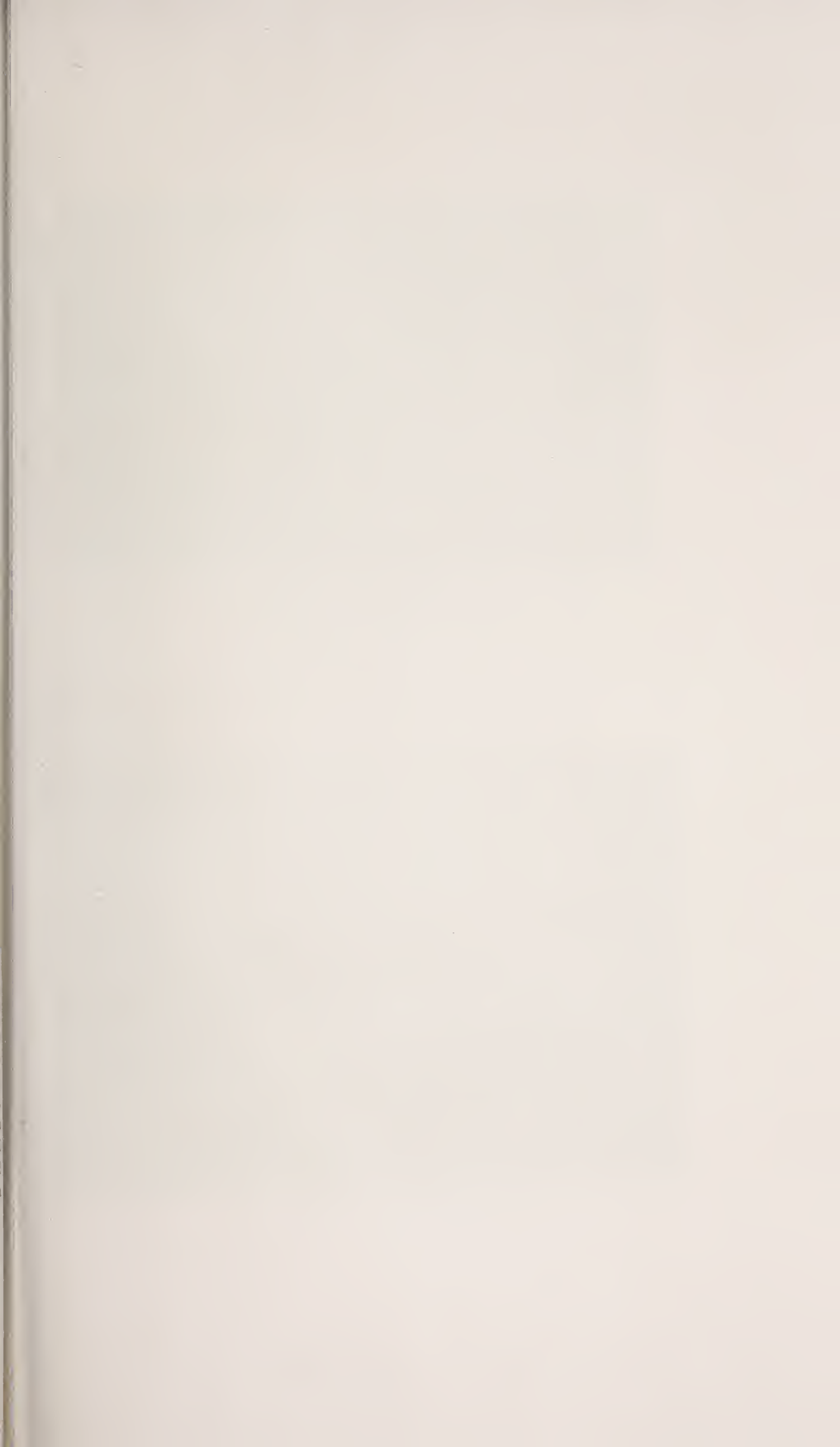
An English gentleman's yacht playing tender to a corsair! No one will ever believe that *Deerhound* to be thoroughbred.

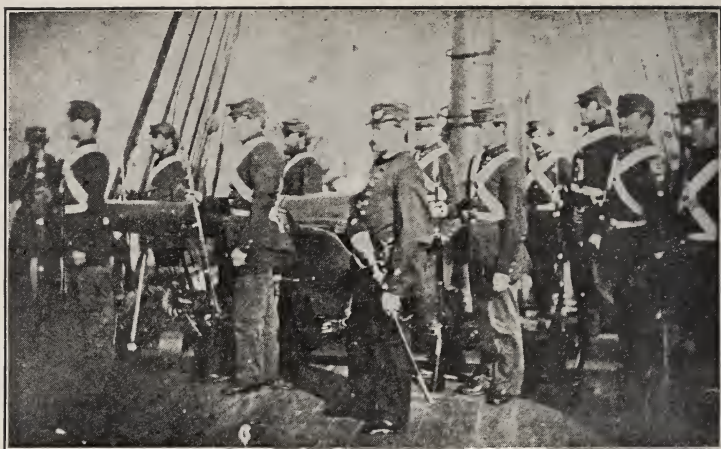
Officers of the U. S. S. Kearsarge.

John A. Winslow.....	Captain
James S. Thornton.....	1st Lieutenant
John M. Browne.....	Surgeon
John Adams Smith.....	Paymaster
William H. Cushman.....	Chief Engineer
James R. Wheeler.....	Acting Master
Eben M. Stoddard.....	" "
David H. Sumner.....	" "
William H. Badlam.....	2d Assistant Engineer
Fred. L. Miller.....	3d " "
Sidney L. Smith.....	3d " "
Henry McConnell.....	3d " "
Edward E. Preble.....	Midshipman
David B. Sargent.....	Paymaster's Clerk
S. E. Hartwell.....	Captain's Clerk
Frank A. Graham.....	Gunner
James C. Walton.....	Boatswain
William H. Yeaton.....	Acting Master's Mate
Charles H. Danforth.....	" " "
Ezra Bartlett.....	" " "

Officers of the Confederate States Steamer Alabama.

Raphael Semmes.....	Captain, Maryland
John McIntosh Kell.....	1st Lieutenant, Georgia
Richard F. Armstrong.....	2d Lieutenant, Georgia
Joseph F. Wilson.....	3d Lieutenant, Florida
John Low.....	4th Lieutenant, England (was not in the battle)
Arthur Sinclair.....	5th Lieutenant, Virginia
Irvine S. Bulloch.....	Master, Georgia
Becket K. Howell.....	Lieutenant of Marines, Louisiana
Francis L. Galt.....	Surgeon and Acting Paymaster, Virginia
David Herbert Llewellyn.....	Assistant Surgeon, England
Miles J. Freeman.....	Chief Engineer, England
Wm. P. Brooks.....	1st Asst. Engineer, South Carolina





MARINE GUARD OF THE "KEARSARGE"



CREW OF THE "KEARSARGE"

From a negative made the day after the Battle, and now owned in Cherbourg, France

Matthew O'Brien.....	2d Asst. Engineer, Ireland
William Robertson.....	3d Asst. Engineer, England
Baron Maximilian von Meulnier.....	Master's Mate, Prussia
Julius Schroeder.....	" " "
James Evans.....	Master's Mate, South Carolina
George T. Fulham.....	Master's Mate, England
Thomas C. Cuddy.....	Gunner, South Carolina
W. Breedlove Smith.....	Captain's Clerk
Simeon W. Cummings.....	3d Assistant Engineer, Connecticut
John Pundt.....	3d Assistant Engineer, South Carolina
Wm. H. Sinclair.....	Midshipman, Virginia
E. M. Anderson.....	" Georgia
E. A. Maffitt.....	" Georgia
Henry Alcott.....	Sailmaker, England

There had been, also, another officer on the *Alabama*, the paymaster, a man named Yonge. He seems to have been a poor stick, a hard drinker, neglecting his duty, and generally behaving in a most disreputable manner. While the *Alabama* was at Kingston, Jamaica, Yonge deserted, apparently to the satisfaction of all the other officers. A Southerner born and bred, he owed to the flag an allegiance that was not to be expected of the men of the crew; these were mostly English (with a generous sprinkling of ex-man-of-war's men among them), with a few Irish, Danes, and one Russian or Finn.

When the *Alabama* went into commission on the high seas near the Azores, on Sunday, August 24, 1862, and Captain Semmes made a speech to the crew, he talked precisely as if he were commanding an English man-of-war. He spoke of the glory won by British seamen, their hatred of oppression, and told of the horrors of war as waged by the North against the Confederacy, and indicated the grand career before them. Here was Captain Semmes, who had commanded a United States man-of-war, addressing his crew as Englishmen, and urging them to do their best to injure and disgrace his own countrymen. No British officer would have done that, I believe, under any circumstances.

BOXFORD TAX LISTS, 1711-1744.

COMMUNICATED BY SIDNEY PERLEY.

- Adams, Isaac, 1735-1744.
 Alexander, Francis, 1731.
 Ames, Abner, 1731-1744.
 Jacob, 1735, '36, '38-'44.
 Jeremiah, 1732-1743. No poll, 1732.
 John, 1711, '14-'16.
 John, jr., 1714-1716.
 Jonathan, 1735-1744.
 Joseph, 1711, '14-'44.
 Moses, 1740-1744.
 Nathan, 1711, '14-'44.
 Samuel, 1716.
 Ammy, John, 1722-1728.
 Andrews, James, 1742-1744.
 John, 1711, '14-'22, '24-'26, '32-'44. Double, '18, '40. Capt., '21. Cor. '32. Qu., '34-'41.
 John, jr., 1711, '14-'17, '19-'21, '23-'39, '41.
 John, 3d, 1722, '23, '27-'31.
 Joseph, 1711, '14-'18.
 Joshua, 1725-1744.
 Oliver, 1722-1744.
 Robert, 1711, '14-'44.
 Thomas, 1711, '14-'44.
 Thomas, jr., 1739-'41, '43, '44.
 Archer, Benjamin, 1716-1720.
 Atwood, Anthony, 1728-1736.
 Capt., 1730, '31.
 Averill, Paul, 1714-'21, '23-'28.
 No poll, 1728.

 Bacon, Retire, 1741-1744.
 Bailey, John, 1736.
 Baker, —, Capt., 1716.
 Jacob, 1736.
 John, 1737-1744.
 Joseph, 1737-1741. No poll, 1738-'40.
 Thomas, 1740-1743. No poll.
 Balch, Cornelius, 1714-'29, '38, '39.
 Mary, Widow, 1730-1739. No poll, 1730-'32, '34, '36, '39.
 Barker, Hannaniah, 1714-'21, '23-'44. No poll, '28-'31, '33-'44.
 John, 1714-'21, '23-'44. No poll, '28, '29, '31, '33-'44.

 Barker, Samuel, 1717-'21, '24-'26.
 Barry, John, 1714.
 Becket, Francis, 1730, 1731.
 Bennett, Stephen, 1743, 1744.
 Stephen, jr., 1743, 1744.
 Bixby, George, 1711, '14-'29.
 Gideon, 1723-1744.
 John, 1714-1739.
 Jonathan, 1711, '14-'44.
 Joseph, 1711, '14-'28.
 Joseph, jr., 1711, '14-'24.
 Joshua, 1718.
 Nathan, 1714, 1716.
 Thomas, 1725, 1726.
 Black, Daniel, 1737-1744.
 Edmund, 1722-1724.
 James, 1711, '14-'21, '27, '28, '30, '31.
 Boyes, Samuel, 1738.
 Bradford, Andrew, 1739-1741.
 Robert, 1729-1732.
 William, 1721-1743.
 William, jr., 1737-1741.
 Bridges, Edmund, 1711, '14-'17.
 Josiah, 1711.
 Brown, Aaron, 1717-1724.
 Caleb, 1721-1742. Double, '29.
 "Dea.," '38-'42.
 Cornelius, 1711, '14-'38.
 —, Widow, 1725.
 Moses, 1717, 1718.
 Susanna, Widow, 1726.
 Burbank, Asa, 1741-1744.
 Caleb, 1711, '14-'29, '31-'44.
 Daniel, 1732-1734.
 Ebenezer, 1715, 1716.
 Burnham, Nathan, 1736-1744.
 Nathaniel, 1732-1744.
 Nathaniel, jr., 1732-1744.
 Buswell, John, 1711, '14-'44.
 John, jr., 1729-1731.
 Butman, Matthew, 1717, '18, '20-'44.
 Byles, James, 1740, 1741.

 Camel, Ananias, 1738, 1739.
 Capen, Nathaniel, 1725, '26, '32, '37, '39-'43. No poll, '32, '37, '40, '41, '43.

- Carleton, George, 1728-1744.
 "Ens.", '43, '44.
 John, 1735-1744. No poll.
 Thomas, 1721-'28, '30-'35, '37-'44. No poll, '28, '30, '31, '34, '35, '37-'44. "Dea.", '43, '44.
- Carrill, Daniel, 1727, 1728.
 John, 1724.
 Nathaniel, 1711, '14-'29. Double, '15.
 Nathaniel, jr., 1716, '18-'23.
 —, Widow, 1724.
 Priscilla, Widow, 1725.
 Samuel, 1715-1721.
- Caves, Thomas, 1711, '14-'21, '23, '24, '26-'28. No poll, '28.
- Chadwick, David, 1737-1743.
 Edmund, 1724-1728, '30-'44. No poll, '30, '31, '33-'44.
 Ephraim, 1731, '32, '35-'44.
 John, 1711, '14-'44.
 John, jr., 1742-1744.
 Jonathan, 1727, '28, '30-'44. No poll, '30, '31, '35-'44.
 —, Widow, 1714-1720, '23.
 Mary, Widow, 1721.
 Thomas, 1735-1744.
- Chambers, John, 1728, '30-'34, '36-'38.
- Chapman, John, 1711, '21-'36.
 John, jr., 1736.
 William, 1711, '14-'16.
- Chumbo, Ceasar, 1738.
- Clark, Humphrey, 1715-1717.
 James, 1733-1736.
 Thomas, 1734.
 William, 1711, 1714-'34, '36. No poll, '30.
- Clough, Daniel, 1737-1744.
- Cogswell, Nathaniel, 1731-1733.
- Cole, Daniel, 1724, 1725.
 Jonathan, 1721-'36, '41-'44.
 Double, '28.
 Jonathan, 1721-1744.
 Samuel, 1717-1744.
 Samuel, jr., 1738-1744.
 Samuel, 3d, 1742.
- Cowdry, Mathias, 1721-1723.
 Samuel, 1722, 1723.
- Crook, John, 1738.
- Crummy, William, 1723, 1731.
- Cummings, Jacob, 1736-1744.
 Thomas, 1711, '14-'44. Double, 1722.
- Curtis, Ebenezer, 1732-1744.
 —, Widow, 1716, 1718.
 Elizabeth, Widow, 1717-1719.
 Ephraim, 1711, '14-'16, '18-'22.
 James, 1711, '14-'44.
 James, jr., 1732-1744.
 John, 1733-1738.
 Joseph, 1727-'32, '34-'44.
 Joseph, jr., 1736-1744.
 Zaccheus, 1711.
 Zachariah, 1711, 1714.
- Danford, Nathaniel, 1724.
- Danielson, Prudence, Widow, 1744. No poll.
 Robert, 1731-1736.
- Densmore, John, 1731.
- Dodge, David, 1725.
 Isaac, 1733-1744. No poll, 1733.
- Dorman, Elijah, 1743, 1744.
 Ephraim, 1711, '14-'24, '32-39.
 No poll, '39.
 Jabez, 1711, '14-'17.
 John, 1728-1744.
 Martha, Widow, 1725-1744. No poll, '39-'44.
 Samuel, 1738-1744.
 Timothy, 1711, '14-'39. No poll, '35.
- Dresser, Daniel, 1734-1741.
 Nathan, 1735-1744.
- Dwinnell, Joseph, 1716.
- Elliot, Francis, 1711, '14-'29.
 Francis, jr., 1714-1729.
 Thomas, 1722-1729.
- Emery, Stephen, 1743, 1744.
- Endicott, Benjamin, 1711, '14-'34. No poll, '28-'30.
 Widow, 1711, '14-'16.
 Grace, Widow, 1737-1744. No poll, '38-'44.
 Zerubabel, 1716-1736. No poll, '28-'31, '36.
- Esty, Jacob, 1740-1744.
- Felch, , Dr. —, 1727, 1728. No poll, '28.
 Daniel, Dr., 1723-1726.
- Fisk, Abigail, Widow, 1725-1728.
 John, 1711, '14-'31, '33-'39.
 Samuel, 1711, '14-'19, '37-'44.
 Samuel, Estate of, 1720.
 William, 1730-1741. No poll.
 "Dea." '35-'41.
- Flint, Thomas, Capt., 1714-1716, '21.

- Foster, Aaron, 1736-1744.
 Abiel, Widow, 1733. No poll.
 Amos, 1724-1726, '36.
 Benjamin, 1721-1733, '37-'44.
 Double, '22. "Dr.", '39, '43.
 Benjamin, jr., 1723-1731.
 David, 1726-1738.
 Ephraim, 1711, '14-'26, '28. No poll, '28.
 Jeremiah, 1722-1744. "Ser.", 1737. "Lt.", '43, '44.
 John, 1736-1744. No poll.
 Jonathan, 1711, '14-'44. No poll, '28-'31. Double, '20, '23. "Dea.", '18-'20, '23-'29.
 Jonathan, jr., 1718-1724.
 Joshua, 1733-1744. No poll.
 —, Widow, 1714-1716, '18-'21.
 Mary, Widow, 1717.
 Oliver, 1740-1744.
 Samuel, 1711, '14-'44.
 Samuel, jr., 1727, '28, '31-'44.
 Thomas, 1730-1732.
 Timothy, 1711, '14-'44. "Dea.", '19, '23-'26, '30-'44.
 William, 1711, '39-'44.
 Zebadiah, 1725-1744.
 Frame, John, 1719-1721, '27, '28.
 Gallop, Thomas, 1716, 1725.
 Gare, Thomas, 1723-1733.
 Gilbert, Benjamin, 1714.
 Goodhue, Jonathan, 1726.
 Goodridge, Benjamin, 1742-1744.
 Samuel, 1724-1744.
 Gould, Hubbard, 1741-1744.
 John, 1711, '14-'44.
 John, jr., 1739-1744. No poll.
 Joseph, 1711, '14-'21, '23-'44.
 No poll, '28-'44. "Capt.", '23-'44.
 Moses, 1725.
 Richard, 1744.
 Samuel, 1711, '14-'44.
 Samuel, jr., 1722, 1724.
 Simon, 1740-1744. No poll, '40-'42, '44.
 Thomas, 1711, '14-'21, '23-'39.
 No poll, '28-'31, '34-'39.
 "Mr.", 1733.
 Thomas, jr., 1736, '39-'44. No poll.
 Zaccheus, 1718, '23-'39. No poll, '28-'31, '33-'35, '37-'39.
 "Lt.", '30-'39.
 Zaccheus, jr., 1739.
 Gragg, Robert, 1737-'39, '41.
 Hale, Abner, 1731-1744.
 Ambrose, 1721-1733, '35-'42.
 Jacob, 1717-1731.
 John, 1738-1744.
 Joseph, 1711, '14-'44. Double, '25, '38-'40, '44. "Ens.", '38, '39, '41. "Capt.", '30-'44.
 Joseph, jr., 1715-1738, '41-'43. "Ens.", '43.
 Thomas, 1737-1742, '44.
 Hardy, Matthew, 1743.
 Nathaniel, 1711, '14-'24.
 Priscilla, Widow, 1726.
 Prudence, Widow, 1725, '27, '28.
 Zachariah, 1734, '37, '38.
 Hazelton, Richard, 1719-1726, '32-'44. No poll, '35-'44. "Lt.", '32-'44.
 Robert, 1719, '20, '22, '23, '25, '27, '28, '30-'44. No poll, '30, '31, '33-'44. "Dea.", '32-'36, '38-'44.
 Robert, jr., 1721, '24, '26.
 Hazen, Edward, 1711, '14-'44. No poll, '41-'44.
 Israel, 1725-1738.
 Lt., 1711.
 —, John, 1711.
 Samuel, 1721.
 Thomas, 1711.
 Henderson, Thomas, 1732. No poll.
 Hobbs, —, Widow, 1718-1721.
 Mary, Widow, 1723-1728. No poll, 1728.
 William, 1711, '15-'17.
 Hovey, Abiah, 1742.
 Abijah, 1741, '43, '44.
 Daniel, 1731, '34-'41.
 Ivory, 1740-1744. No poll.
 "Dea.", 1740, '41. "Capt.", '42-'44.
 John, 1714-'21, '23-'39, '41-'44.
 Double, '39. No poll, '33-'36, '38, '39, '41-'44.
 John, senr, 1740, 1741. No poll.
 John, jr., 1733-'36, '38, '40-'44.
 Joseph, 1735-1744.
 Luke, 1711, '14-'44. "Serg.", '26. "Ens.", '30-'44.
 Luke, jr., 1731-1744.
 Thomas, 1743, 1744. No poll, '43.
 Thomas, jr., 1743, 1744.

- How, Benjamin, 1717, 1718.
 John, 1711, '14-'29.
 Mark, 1722.
 Howard, Jonathan, 1742-1744.
 Huckins, John, 1719.
- Iersons, Samuel, 1720.
- Iles, Elizabeth, Widow, 1731, '36-'44. No poll, '31, '36-'38, '44.
 Jacob, 1744.
 John, 1744.
 William, 1719-'28, '43, '44. No poll, '28.
- Ireland, Benjamin, 1741.
- Jeffords, John, 1722-1726.
- Jewett, Ezekiel, 1714-1744.
 Joseph, 1737, 1738.
 Thomas, 1711, '14-'31, '41-'44. No poll, '28, '30, '31.
- Kenney, Daniel, 1711, '14-'29.
 Jonathan, 1711, '14-'17, '19-21.
- Kilborn, David, 1711.
- Killam, Abigail, Widow, 1739-1744. No poll.
 Benjamin, 1711.
 Daniel, 1725.
 Ebenezer, 1737-1744.
 John, 1725-1739.
 Samuel, 1714-1726.
 Thomas, 1711, '14-'41. No poll, '29. Double, '14-'16, '18, '19, '21-'24.
 Thomas, jr., 1717, '19-'21.
- Kimball, Aaron, 1726-1744.
 Amos, 1730-1744.
 Ceaser, 1737.
 David, 1724.
 Ebenezer, 1721, 1722.
 Ephraim, 1721-1744.
 Ephraim, jr., 1742-1744.
 Ephraim, 3d, 1743, 1744.
 John, 1711, '14-'44. Double, '11, '43. "Cor.", '18.
 John, jr., 1714-1721.
 Jonathan, 1711, '14-'26, '28-'44. No poll, '41-44. Double, '41-'44.
 Jonathan, jr., 1721, '40, '41.
 Moses, 1739-1744.
 Nathan, 1729-1744.
 Richard, 1711, '14-'44. No poll, '34-'44. Double, '24-'28, '32, '33, '35-'38, '40, '42-'44.
 Triple, '39, '41. "Lt.", '33-'40, '42-'44. "Capt.", '24-'26.
- Kimball, Richard, jr., 1730-'38, '40-'44. No poll, '30, '31.
 Robert(?), 1722.
 Samuel, 1714-'16, '18-'23.
 Samuel, jr., 1721.
 Thomas, 1714-'16, '18-'20, '22, '23, '27, '28, '33-'38. No poll, '33-'38. "Capt.", '33-'36. "Esq.", '37, '38.
 Thomas, jr., 1717, '18, '20, '21, '24, '26, '30-'32. No poll, '30, '31.
- Kinsman, Sarah, Widow, 1742-1744. No poll.
- Knowlton, William, 1730-1744.
- Knox, Adam, 1722-1738.
 William, 1727-1729.
- Lacy, Lawrence, 1715-1718.
- Ladd, Ezekiel, 1711, 1714.
 —, 1711.
- Lahorse, Ann, 1734. No poll.
 Ann, Widow, 1732, 1733.
- Lakeman, Nathaniel, 1731-'33, '38, '39. No poll, '38, '39.
 William, 1732-1744.
- Lawhorse, Ephraim, 1727-1731.
 No poll, '28-'31.
 Lawrence, 1714, '16, '21, '23-'26.
- LeFavour, John, 1744.
- Lesslie, James, 1740, 1741.
- Lurvey, Ebenezer, 1738.
 William, 1737-'39, '41.
- Marshall, John, 1741.
- Martin, William, 1711, '16-'22.
- McCrillis, John, 1738-1741.
 William, 1738, 1739.
- McFarson, Paul, 1732.
- McPerson, William, 1737, 1738.
- Middleton, Ebenezer, 1737-1744.
 No poll, '39-'44.
 William, 1722-1736. No poll, 1735, '36.
- Moseley, Increase, 1711.
- Nelson, David, 1732.
 John, 1714, '16-'21.
- Nichols, Edward, 1715-1729.
- Osborne, John, 1722-1726.
- Peabody, Abraham, 1739-1744.
 Alice, Widow, 1741-1744. No poll.
 David, 1711, '14-'26. "Ens.", '25, '26.
 Ephraim, 1711, '14-'32, '36-'39, '41-'44. No poll, '32, '36-'39.
 Frances, Widow, 1716.

- Peabody, Francis, 1743, 1744.
 —, Widow, 1711, '14-'16.
 Double, '14-'16.
 Hannah, Widow, 1715, '17-'21.
 John, 1711, '15-'44. No poll,
 '36, '39-'44. Double, '19, '20,
 '35-'44.
 John, jr., 1736-1744.
 Jonathan, 1711, '14-'41.
 Joseph, 1711, '14, '21, '40-'44.
 Joseph, jr., 1711, 1717.
 Mary, Widow, 1717-1726.
 Nathan, 1714-'32, '36-'42. No
 poll, '42. "Dea.," '30-'32.
 Nathaniel, 1711, '14, '15.
 Richard, 1714-1733.
 Samuel, 1727-1729.
 Sarah, Widow, 1727-1733, '35.
 No poll, '29, '35.
 Stephen, 1711, '14-'44. "Corn.,"
 '30, '33. "Cor.," '34. "Capt.,"
 '35-'44.
 Thomas, 1728-1744.
 Thomas, jr., 1739-1744.
 William, 1736-1739.
 Pearl, Richard, 1732, '34-'44. No
 poll, '34-'38.
 Perkins, Daniel, 1740-1744.
 Israel, 1741-1744.
 John, 1738, 1739. No poll.
 John, Adm'r, 1737, 1738. No
 poll, 1738.
 Nathaniel, 1714-1744. "Ens.,"
 '34. "Lt.," '36-'42. "Capt.,"
 '43, '44.
 Timothy, Ens., 1725, 1726.
 Perley, Allen, 1741-1744. No
 poll.
 Amos, 1723-1744.
 Asa, 1738-1744.
 Deborah, Widow, 1730-1734.
 No poll, '30, '31, '33, '34.
 Francis, 1728-1744.
 —, Widow, 1725, '27, '28.
 Hannah, Widow, 1726.
 Isaac, 1711.
 Jacob, 1711, '14-'44. "Lt.,"
 '20, '23, '25, '27, '29-'36.
 Jacob, jr., 1724-1736.
 Jeremiah, 1711, '14-'44. Dou-
 ble, '22. "Serg.," '25. "Lt.,"
 '31-'33. "Capt.," '34-'44.
 John, 1711, '14-'21, '29.
 Moses, 1731-1744.
 Nathan, 1729-1739.
 Perley, Nathaniel, 1711, '14-'28.
 Triple, '23.
 Stephen, 1718-'21, '23, '24, '40,
 '41. No poll, '41.
 Thomas, 1711, '14-'44. Double,
 '18, '19, '21-'39. Triple, '20.
 "Lt.," '20, '25-'39. "Capt.,"
 '20, '25-'44.
 Thomas, jr., 1711, '14-'17, '34,
 '36, '40-'44.
 Thomas, 3d, 1733, '35-'39.
 Timothy, 1711, '14-'17.
 Perry, Matthew, 1716, '17, '25.
 Richard, 1744.
 Person, William, 1741.
 Pharsons, Joseph, 1742.
 Pickard, Samuel, 1711, '14-'44.
 "Qu.," '37, '41.
 Samuel, jr., 1736-1744.
 Thomas, 1714-1744.
 Pinder, Theophilus, 1722-1744.
 No poll, '43.
 Porter, Benjamin, 1716-'29, '32-
 '44. No poll, '32.
 Moses, 1741-1744.
 Samuel, 1734.
 Presson, William, 1741.
 Prichard, Paul, 1737, '38, '40-
 '44.
 Putnam, Edward, 1711, '14-'21,
 '23-'28. No poll, '28. Dou-
 ble, '24. "Dea.," '14, '21,
 '24.
 Edward, jr., 1714-'17, '21.
 Eliezer, 1711, '14-'21, '23-'28.
 No poll, '28.
 James, 1714-'17, '21.
 Seth, 1718, 1721.
 Ramsdell, John, 1711.
 Nathaniel, 1723.
 Timothy, 1711, '14-'23.
 Read, Samuel, 1730.
 Redington, Abraham, 1711.
 Thomas, 1714-1744. "Dea.,"
 '34, '36-'44.
 Richardson, James, 1716-1720.
 Robinson, Dean, 1714-'21, '23-
 '44. No poll, '28-'31, '35-'44.
 Joseph, 1733, '36, '38, '39, '41.
 No poll.
 Joseph, jr., 1739, '40, '42-'44.
 No poll, '43, '44.
 Thomas, 1721.

- Rogers, Benjamin, 1735-1744.
 Nathaniel, 1744. No poll.
 Runnells, Samuel, 1735-1744.
 No poll.
 Stephen, 1729-1744.
 Russell, Jonathan, 1717.
 Scales, James, 1718-'20, '25-'41.
 Nathan, 1737.
 Seeton, Andrew, 1740, 1741.
 John, 1730-1736. No poll, '32.
 Sessions, Josiah, 1716, '21, '23.
 Samuel, 1714-'21, '23-'26, '32-'44. No poll, '33-'41, '43, '44.
 Shaw, Joseph, 1715, 1716.
 Sherwin, Ebenezer, 1711, '26-'44.
 Jonathan, 1726-1744. No poll, '28.
 —, Widow, 1716, '18, '22, '25.
 Susanna, Widow, 1723, 1724.
 Shumway, Peter, 1711, 1714.
 Simmons, Joseph, 1743, 1744.
 Smith, Abijah, 1733, 1735.
 Elias, 1716-1744. No poll, '28, '30.
 Ephraim, 1711, '14-'44.
 Ephraim, jr., 1721-1723.
 Jacob, 1711, '14-'44. "Serg.", '32, '33.
 John, 1719, '20, '28-'44.
 Joseph, 1735, 1736.
 Moses, 1739-1743.
 Nathan, 1732-'36, '40-'42.
 Samuel, 1711, '14-'18, '25, '40-'44. No poll, '41-'44.
 William, 1711, '14-'26, '29-'44.
 Snelling, Mark, 1744.
 Spofford, Samuel, 1714, '16-'44.
 Thomas, 1711, '14-'16.
 Stanley, Mary, Widow, 1725-1728.
 Samuel, 1717-1724, '29-'44.
 Start, George, 1744.
 Stevens, Thomas, 1726, '30-'36.
 No poll, '30.
 Stewart, James, 1711, '14-'24.
 John, 1722-1731.
 Solomon, 1721.
 Walter, 1722-1725.
 William, 1733-1739.
 Stickney, Jonathan, 1729-1744.
 Joseph, 1728-1744.
 Stiles, Benjamin, 1738-1744.
 Elizabeth, Widow, 1719.
 Stiles, Ephraim, 1730-1741.
 Ezra, 1737-1744.
 Gideon, 1733-1736.
 Jacob, 1724, 1725.
 John, 1711, '14-'27, '29-'44.
 John, jr., 1714-'21, '23-'32.
 —, Widow, 1714, 1715.
 —, jr., Widow, 1715.
 Richard, 1743.
 Robert, 1711, '14-'18.
 Samuel, 1711.
 Timothy, 1711, '14-'44.
 Stone, Benjamin, 1742.
 Symonds, Jacob, 1736-1738.
 John, 1711, '14-'44.
 Joseph, 1711, '14-'44.
 Nathaniel, 1714-'34, '36-'44.
 Samuel, 1711, '14-'29, '37, '38.
 Double, '15, '17-'19, '21.
 Samuel, jr., 1711, '14-'16, '20.
 Thomas, 1736-1739.
 Tapley, Samuel, 1730-1736.
 Thurston, Gideon, 1738, 1739.
 Town, Nathan, 1728-1730.
 Trigger, Israel, 1730, 1731. No poll.
 Tyler, Abner, 1736-1744.
 Asa, 1730-1736.
 David, 1732-1744.
 Ebenezer, 1711, '14-'42.
 Gideon, 1736-1744.
 Job, 1711, 14-'44.
 Job, jr., 1726-'31, '37-'39.
 John, 1711, '14-'44. "Capt.", '20, '25-'44.
 Jonathan, 1711, '14-'29.
 Moses, 1711, '14-'31. Double, '23.
 Moses, jr., 1722-1729.
 Nathaniel, 1726, '30-'44. Double, '35.
 Richard, 1722-1744.
 Ruth, Widow, 1732. No poll.
 Samuel, 1721-1744.
 William, 1723, 1724.
 Walcott, Jonathan, 1714-1722.
 Walker, Nathaniel, 1717.
 —, Widow, 1727, '28, '30-'34. No poll, '30, '31, '33, '34.
 Rebecca, Widow, 1726.
 Watson, —, Widow, 1711.
 Wheeler, John, 1718-1721.
 White, George, 1717-1720.
 Joseph, 1711, '14-'17.

- White, Samuel, 1714.
Wildes, Zebulon, 1744.
Wilkins, Bray, 1711, '14-'29.
Henry, 1711, '14-'29.
Hezekiah, 1727-1729.
Nehemiah, 1711.
——, Widow, 1714, '16-'21.
Susannah, Widow, 1715, '22-'28. No poll, '28.
Thomas, 1711, '14-'29.
Thomas, jr., 1726.
Willis, Robert, 1718-1720.
Robert, jr., 1718.
Wood, Aaron, 1741-1744.
Wood, Daniel, 1711, '14-'18, '28-44. "Dea.", '18.
David, 1711, '14-'44. Double, '34, '38. "Dr.", '25, '26, '28-'36. "Esq.", '37-'43.
David, jr., 1731-'33, '35-'43.
Jacob, 1714-1731.
John, 1711, '14-'44.
Jonathan, 1737-1744.
Nathan, 1741-1744.
Solomon, 1743, 1744.
Woodbury, Benjamin, 1744.
Wooster, Francis, 1730-1733.
John, 1730-1744. "Dea.", 1737-'44.

NOTE.—Tax Lists for 1712 and 1713 are missing. After 1727, unless otherwise stated, one poll is assessed to each tax-payer. In and before that year the polls were not noted by the copyist.

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